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## THE HOMERIC AUGMENT

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The distribution of the Homeric poems into strata of different ages has long been a favorite exercise with the enemies of unity. The stratifications do not agree, nor has any individual arrangement ever been accepted. Indeed, of recent years the conviction has been growing that the language and verse are one, and that this particular enterprise is futile. But it has not been abandoned as one of the "forlorn causes." To the long list of tests, the digamma, "Ionisms," contraction, "singular and plural," etc., were recently added the appellatives, 'Αχαιοί, 'Αργεῖοι, and Δαναοί; and now it is the turn, ὄψιμον ὀψιτέλεστον, of the augment.

In a very elaborate paper in *C.Q.* II, 94 ff. Mr. Drewitt exposed certain metrical differences between narrative and speech in the Homeric poetry, and, combining these with a theory that "in older narrative the use of the unaugmented aorist was idiomatic, in speeches almost entirely scansional," suggested the conclusion that "originally Greek epic was for the most part confined to narrative and similes." Later there was "a preference for all kinds of mimetic work: plain narrative is much reduced, and the simile practically atrophied." The speeches have broken away from the conventions of a long tradition, and stylistic divergence from narrative is only to be expected. This startling theory of the evolution of the epic has unfortunately attracted but little attention. I know of but one reference to it, a blessing by Professor Murray in *R.G.E.*<sup>2</sup> 190.

In *C.Q.* VI, 44 ff. and 104 ff. the augmental facts are used to trace the development of the epic from the earliest period, and for testing the age of different parts of it as it has survived to the present day. No formal stratification of the poems has been made so far, other than a tripartite division of a provisional character and uncertain limits; but speech is late, and narrative, except where contaminated by "Odyssean work," is early, and individual books and passages can be seen to be modern. The papers embody in fact a most determined attack on the Homeric text. For minuteness and acuteness it has seldom been surpassed. It is a masterpiece of the statistical method that compares with the best German efforts; and, if it stands, the poems are ruined. Its author speaks of himself modestly as of the *ἄνδρες χωρίζοντες*. Rather he is among the *ἀριστοι* of the *ἄνδρες κερματίζοντες*.

The Homeric augment has been discussed in every Greek grammar and in a number of special treatises.<sup>1</sup> The chief question debated is how so many verbal forms come to be without it. Explanations have been attempted and regulating principles suggested, but they have not found acceptance. The authorities have held to the belief that the augment was and had long been an essential part of the past tense, but that, in the words of La Roche, "it was present or absent according to the needs of the verse." This is the view expressed in a hundred works from Thiersch to the newest work on Greek grammar.<sup>2</sup> In epic the use of the augment was optional.

The new view is that the true past was originally unaugmented. Then the augment was added—the change commencing "in the earliest periods of the verse"—in order to give the tense "either a true present meaning (ideal) or some shade of present reference

<sup>1</sup> See (besides the grammars and special works on the aorist) La Roche *Das Augment d. griechn. Verbums* (Linz, 1882), and *Textkritik*, 423 ff.; Grashof *Zur Kritik d. homn. Textes in Bezug auf d. Abwerfung d. Augments* (Düsseldorf, 1852); Skerlo *Gebrauch d. Augments bei Homer* (Graudenz, 1874); Koch *De augmento apud Homerum omisso* (Brunswick, 1868); Platt, *J. Phil.* XIX, 211 ff.; and Dottin *L'augment des verbes composés dans l'Odyssée et l'Iliade* (Rennes, 1894). Mohlen's *De augmenti apud Homerum Herodotumque usu* (Lundae, 1876), praised by Curtius, I have not seen. Curtius' own chapter ("Verb," Eng. trans., 72 ff.) has not been surpassed. Van Leeuwen's discussion in his *Enchiridium* is extremely full. His doctrine of *aphaeresis* is accepted by Sterrett *Homer's Iliad*, p. N. 30. It depends on the popular view—rejected by Mr. Drewitt—of the origin of the hexameter.

<sup>2</sup> Wright *Compar. Gram. of the Gk. Lang.* (1912), p. 258.

(actual)." But in course of time the augment came to be understood as "the great sign of a past tense," and aorists, and later, imperfects and pluperfects too, were given it when the meter did not resist. The unaugmented form meantime lost its special sense, and became at the last "a mere petrified epicism, employed to meet any chance scansional requirement."

There is apparently nothing to be said for this view a priori. Its author only suggests that two things are "likely to have helped" the change. First, the "protean" nature of the present-reference tense;<sup>1</sup> "there can hardly be any hard and fast line between present-reference and past." That is very true, and seems to be a consideration which tells against the likelihood of such a change in the earliest periods of the verse, which would be not merely centuries but probably millennia before the Homeric poems. The other thing which may have helped, and which is even spoken of as a cause of the change, is the nature of the primitive generalizing sentence. In one type of primitive generalizations—"they came out when the sun rises (rose)"—the past tense can easily be substituted for the ideal present. Two instances are given in illustration, H 433 and ν 93. Both are "Odyssean," and consequently late, but the process is *presumed* to have been much older in actual speech. It may have been, but the effect of the unstable sense of some generalizing expressions in creating the augment is surely very problematical.

There are, on the other hand, difficulties on the face of the theory. It seems strange, in the absence of explanation and of any analogous grammatical development, that that which was invented to convert a true past tense into a kind of present should come to be regarded as the sign of a past, and that the present tense should have continued to express, and to be used frequently to express, that for which it was superseded by the augmented aorist. The expression of the ideal present by the aorist is comparatively rare. Even in similes the present tense abounds, and many instances of it which could easily have been altered to ideal aorists have nevertheless resisted change. And there was certainly no necessity to manufacture

<sup>1</sup> Illustrated by a little *jeu d'esprit* which seems to be both ancient and fishlike and to contain an error. An old angler could not speak of the fish "I have killed *κοῦρος ἔων*," nor could Nestor have used the same tense unless the corpse of the man he referred to had been lying before him on the Trojan plain.

a new ideal present in the shape of an augmented aorist. The origin of this (gnomic) aorist has been explained in more simple and more reasonable ways. And yet again, it may be asked how the change to the augment as the sign of a past, which commenced in very early days and "put constant pressure on the tradition, modifying most of the aorists and imperfects where the augment was not excluded by the meter," was so partial in its operation. Many hundreds of unaugmented forms remained in the text, expressing a true past tense, in spite of the fact that the augment could have been added to many of them with the smallest possible change, or even with no change at all, of the lettering. How could the type "Ἡφαιστος μὲν δῶκε" survive? Would the rule against elision keep out the augment in the third trochee? In some cases it has somehow made its way in.

The formulation of this most revolutionary view has been helped by several notions<sup>1</sup> about the augment that have been gradually forming. First, the idea that iteratives could not be augmented. It is, as Van Leeuwen says, *ex nihilo ficta*. All that can be said is that they are generally without the augment. As they were already loaded with an additional syllable at the end, there was a tendency to avoid further lengthening by the augment, which in some cases—some 20 out of a total of 127<sup>2</sup>—would have made the form cumbrously long (Curtius, *op. cit.* 529). And 20 are initial in the verse, while 40 more would, if augmented, give forms impossible in the hexameter. The fact that so many are without the augment easily led, in later times, to a rule that they could not take it.<sup>3</sup> But we have positive evidence to the contrary. ἐμισγέσκοντο is unimpeachable. εἶσκει occurs thrice. Out of fifteen editions consulted only Platt's gives παρακέσκει. παρέβασκε may be from παραβαίνω. There is good authority for the view that we have an augmented iterative from φημί. On ἔσκει, ἦσκει see the *Ench.* 362, where also πόλλ' ἐρρυστάζεσκον, Ω 755, and ὅσ' ἐρρέζεσκον, χ 46, are supported. ὄρσασκεν, P 423, ὤλεσκεν, T 135, ὠτρύνεσκον, Ω 24, and ἀνεμορμύρεσκε, λ 238,

<sup>1</sup> I omit the case of the duals. Mr. Drewitt gives them up.

<sup>2</sup> All figures are based on the Oxford text.

<sup>3</sup> Thiersch (*Gk. Gramm.*, 342) observes that the practice of Apoll. Rhod. shows that before Aristarchus there was no bar to the augmentation of iteratives.



all have manuscript authority. In Γ 217 (as in four other similar cases) we cannot say whether δὲ *φίδεσκε* or δ' *ἐφίδεσκε* is original. *ισχανάσκον*, etc., may be augmented or not. *οὔτασκε* and *οὔτήσασκε* conform to general practice. The argument that the iteratives already showed by the -σκ- inside them that they were pasts seems futile; at most we could only say that they did not require the augment, not that they could not have it. But we can say of past tenses generally that their forms show what they are. On the new view, the iteratives should, above all other past tenses, have got the augment, and they would no doubt have kept it.

The second notion is that aorists in similes and gnomes must be augmented. The exceptions are absolutely fatal to a rule. There are 147 aorists in similes, and 55 others that may be considered gnomic. Setting aside as "uncertain," compounds and cases like τ' *ἐκλυον*, *ᾶρσε*, etc., and leaving out those in which the alternative form was impossible, we are left with 71 augmented forms (52 in similes) and 21 unaugmented (13 in similes).

The disproportion is of no consequence. But there is another consideration. All aorists in similes are not gnomic; far from it. We distinguish, first, the genuine gnomic aorist, rare, because gnomes are few and the present is often used. It states a general truth—*ῥεχθὲν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω*. Secondly, an inferior form describing a practice, or an occasional, more or less common, happening—

(νοῦσος) ἧ τε μάλιστα  
τηκεδόνι στυγερῇ μελέων ἐξείλετο θυμόν.<sup>1</sup>

And this is what the aorist, by some called the *aoristus comparativus*, expresses in similes. It is only "an aorist somewhat resembling the gnomic."<sup>2</sup> But thirdly, many aorists in the similes, especially in subordinate clauses, are not used in, or in an approach to, the gnomic sense. In P 352 ff. the aorist in the clause (*ἄρνεσσιν*) αἶ τ' ἐν ᾧρесси . . . *διέτμαγεν*, which simply adds a detail to the description, has nothing gnomic about it. So in Δ 243 f., *ἥντε νεβροί, αἶ τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔκαμον*, and many other cases. When all such have been excluded,

<sup>1</sup> λ 201, with Merry and Riddell's note. Cf. their note on κ 327.

<sup>2</sup> Goodwin *M. and T.*, 55; Gildersleeve *Syntax of Class. Gk.*, 109 f.

the disproportion between the augmented and unaugmented aorists is still further reduced.<sup>1</sup>

The next notion, that the use of the augment in speech is different from that in narrative, is derived from Koch's dissertation, and is in the highest degree crude and misleading. It takes no account of the all-important distinction, *in speech*, between narrative, that is, the story of events of which the speaker *pars non fuit*, and dialogue, which may be mere conversation or the recital to hearers of the experiences of the teller.

Augmentation is identical in speech-narrative and narrative outside speeches, as may be seen by comparing such passages as Z 123 ff., I 447 ff., Δ 374 ff., H 132 ff., etc., with the narrative in, say, M. Augments are in a great minority. In dialogue augmented and unaugmented forms are about equal. This explains what is spoken of as the "enormous rise of augmentation" in speech in the *Odyssey*. The speech in that poem is almost wholly dialogue. The only exception, I think, is Odysseus' account (λ 235 ff.) of the adventures of certain old heroes and heroines. Demodocus' lay might almost be considered another example. In each the augmentation is exactly as in the narrative outside and inside speech in both poems. We cannot expect figures for augments in dialogue and narrative to correspond in the same way. The differences between the two in regard to the structure of sentences and to vocabulary are very great, far greater than anyone who has not worked them out in detail would be disposed to believe. Difference of vocabulary has great effect. It is easy, by tabulating all the verbal forms in two large tracts of narrative and in one of dialogue, to see how the two former have many common to each other, but many fewer in common with dialogue. Another useful exercise is to tabulate, with the aid of Gehring's *Index*, the augmented and unaugmented occurrences of such narrative verbs as βάλλω, βαίνω, κίω, θρόσκω, μειδάω, μερμηρίζω, θαυμάζω, and many others; it discloses one cause of the preponderance of unaugmented forms in narrative.

Yet another idea, begotten of the view of the aorist in similes and

<sup>1</sup> It is not necessary, for present purposes, to refer to the greatly debated question of the nature and origin of the gnomic aorist. The literature is given by Herbig in I.F. VI, 250, n. Schmid's *Ueber den gnomischen Aorist* (Passau, 1894) gives a very full account of the controversy.

gnomes, is that the present-reference aorist "nearly always takes the augment." But here one finds oneself in a difficulty. To all the hindrances to accurate appreciation of the phenomena of the text there is superadded the question, which has to be faced in a multitude of cases, whether a particular occurrence is present-reference or true past. No two inquirers would bring out the same result, and I ask no one to accept my figures; but I find, on a rough count for A-M and  $\alpha-\mu$ , that the proportions of unaugmented to augmented forms in aorists which seem to me to be of the present-reference variety work out at about 1 to 2.2 and 1 to 2.3, respectively. In both poems unaugmented present-reference aorists seem to be sufficiently plentiful. This is even so with the aorist with  $\nu\upsilon$ , which is said to show "hardly any augmented forms except such as  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma\alpha\tau\omicron$  or  $\iota\kappa\acute{o}\mu\eta\eta$ " (forms impossible in the hexameter if augmented). There appear to be in the poems some 68 certain cases, all in speech of course—46 augmented and 22 unaugmented. The figures are fatal to the idea as stated; and as to the disparagement of the unaugmented forms as impossible, the same thing can be said in the same degree of the augmented. And it may be added that the latter show more repetition and less variety—the 46 instances being from only 29 different verbs, while the 22 unaugmented are from 19.

The last notion is that the imperfect is less augmented than the aorist. The proof is on p. 45 of Mr. Drewitt's papers, but the result is obtained only by "roughly splitting off" the imperfects in the formulae introducing and resuming from speeches. But if an exclusion of this kind is to be permitted, we must claim that the unaugmented aorists which are used in scores in recurring battle formulae be split off in turn. Also, the figures given are gross statistics, including both certainties and uncertainties, but excluding, as I presume (see p. 51), verbs commencing with long vowels and the numerous imperfects of  $\epsilon\iota\mu\iota$ . Testing for the syllabic alone over a large area of Koch's selections and in A-H, I find no difference between aorists and imperfects. One can hardly, I think, make any such prolonged examination in detail without being convinced that in regard to augmentation the two tenses are identical.

These ideas seem to be unsubstantial bases on which to work, but a number of pieces of positive evidence are presented for our

acceptance in support of the new theory. I have tested some of these, and in every case there seems to be some weakness in the proof. But first a few words as to the method of inquiry.

The statistics are compiled for the *Iliad* without the Odyssean books,<sup>1</sup> these Odyssean books, and the *Odyssey*. Θ and B 484-end (called B<sup>2</sup>) are now added to the Odyssean category,<sup>2</sup> but, very strangely, A is not, though we are told it is "purely Odyssean from end to end." But in addition a simile, a line, a form may be held to be Odyssean at any time. Examples of a scansion proscribed as Odyssean are culled from Γ-Z and other books.<sup>3</sup> It is unnecessary to point out how discussion is helped by such a power to bar inconvenient forms.

Next, only cases in which it is certain that the form is augmented or unaugmented are considered. I have not space to criticize the principles adopted. It is enough to say that, with so many points in the Homeric language and versification still unsettled, no two inquirers could agree on a complete scheme. Many, for instance, will hold that εἰλε-ετο and εἰσε are syllabically augmented like εἶχε, and that ἤλυθε is not uncertain. But one thing is certain, that no one need accept results which are obtained on only about a half of the total forms. The view taken of one class of verbs will probably rouse special opposition. It has seldom been doubted that compounds of a preposition and a verb commencing with a consonant were originally, as they are in the text with very few exceptions, augmented. But now these are all excluded as uncertain. It is surely a matter in which the overwhelming authority of the MSS is to be regarded.

Again, there is much that is arbitrary in the examination of points that arise. It is of course assumed that augments have been freely inserted. But it is also assumed at times that they have been ejected. Thus, most of the unaugmented forms which bar the rule as to the aorists in similes and gnomes "could be emended by slight

<sup>1</sup> I call this *Il.\** for short.

<sup>2</sup> Θ comes to its own at last, though its Odysseanism has still to be demonstrated. The proof in the *H.G.* (which Miss Stawell refuted) was confined to I, K, Ψ, Ω. Mr. Lang long ago asked how Θ escaped the taint, when (according to the critics) it was written as a "prologue" to Odyssean I.

<sup>3</sup> ἡπόσαρ'. The aorist occurs in II, Ξ, Υ, and λ.

changes." Other such forms are ejected bodily. It is assumed that *ἔθηκε* is the equivalent of, and has been replaced by, the compounds in *θεῶν δέ ἐ μῆνις ἀνῆκε*, *ἀεικέα πότμον ἐφήκε*, etc. Worse still is the assumption that *ἐκ-ἐμ-κάππεσε* have replaced *ἤριπε*. One might tolerate *τόξον δέ οἱ ἤριπε χειρός*, but *θαλερὸν δέ οἱ ἤριπε δάκρυ*!

Another device is to call an inconvenient form or expression "secondary" or "a late shift." A good example is the disparagement of the formula *ἦυσεν δὲ διαπρύσιον κτλ.* "The place of *διαπρύσιον* is enough to show" the phrase is secondary. Then we must say the same of *ἐπισταμένως*, *περιφραδέως*, etc., in other formulae with the hephthemimeral. As to *ἦυσ|εν* not giving the "natural" ictus, we need only recall *ρύγησεν δ'*, *δούπησεν δέ*, etc. Other similar expedients are used. "*ἔκοντο* may be a false simplification of *ἀφίκοντο*; *στὰς ἦυσε* admits *στῇ καὶ ἄυσε*; *ἀνόιξε* could conceivably stand for *ᾠίξε*." *ἡέσατ'* is said to be "really a speech-augment." Why not a narrative augment? It occurs once in each. Or, as happens in a number of cases, a form is discredited as "unparalleled," because it cannot be matched by another with the same augment, in the identical position in the verse, and with the same elision, ictus, or what not. *ἔπος τ' ἔφατ'* has no narrative parallel in *Il.\** *Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο* or *θεῶν δ' ἐκέλευσε* will not do; we must have a dibrach. *κάρη δ' ἔκυσ'*, *ψ* 208, is admitted to be a strict parallel, but it is ruled out as "symbolically near the end of the epic." Again, among the 147 aorists (indicative) in the similes, there are (*ἦιξε*, *ἤρπαξε*, and *ᾠπλίσσατο* being set aside) only two instances of the type in *ἦλυξε* and *ἐξήλασαν*. It might have been mentioned that only 25 per cent of these aorists commence with vowels, and that only two other verbs could have given the objectionable forms. Again, in the similes *ἐπὶ τε λῖν ἡγαγε δαίμων* "stands alone"; and there is nothing to wonder at. *ἦλασσ|εν* is "hardly a possible scansion." Why not, if *δούπησ|εν*, etc., are common? *ἦκουσε* could not end a verse. *οἶνοιο*, *νῆεσσι*, *ἴθυνε*, etc., do. The scansion *ἦ|ώς*, in a conceivable line *ὄφρ' ἄρ τ' ἔστ' ἡὼς καὶ ἀέξεται ἱερὸν ἡμαρ*, "became disliked," and the dislike was partly responsible for the change to *ὄφρα μὲν ἡὼς ἦν κτλ*; yet the objectionable scansion survived and is common. Large inferences are based on the smallest

grounds. On the one fact (alleged), so far as I can see, that imperfections are less augmented than aorists, it is held that augmentation commenced with the aorist and spread to the imperfect, and subsequently to the pluperfect. From the unique character of *ὑπό τε τρόμος ἔλλαβε γνῖα*, Γ 34, "we may infer that in old work tmesis of the augmented tense, if it was possible at all, was possible with *τε* and with *τε* only." And so on. Such expedients and license used to be the stock-in-trade of a school of German workers whose results are never mentioned now. And they are eked out with many a "we may suppose," "we suspect," "presumably," and similar phrases.

The method is also unsatisfactory in that it overlooks much that is relevant to the investigation. Difference of subject as influencing the use of appropriate verbs is never, I think, alluded to. Nor is metrical convenience as explaining an alternative form. Nor are the facts that (on a rough computation) verbal forms commencing with a consonant are probably five times as numerous as those commencing with a vowel, and that words ending in a vowel are as 3 to 2 ending with a consonant (in the third trochee 7 to 2). You divide up the poems into sections with arbitrary limits which you extend at will by a free use of the Odyssean label; in these sections you mark off speech and narrative, but neglect the clear distinction inside speech between narrative and dialogue; you confine yourself mainly to aorists to the exclusion of imperfections and pluperfects, and exclude from the aorists those occurring in similes and gnomes; you select what you personally consider sure cases; and from this attenuated remainder in a shrunken and mutilated area you proceed to draw inferences on brute totals, neglecting marked features of the various collections of instances. It is not a scheme calculated to command assent.

Turning now to the facts and arguments adduced in support of the new theory, we find two points which are regarded as vital. The first relates to the temporal augment, and is "a special preference for the unaugmented forms in aorists of the type *ἄκουσε*." This preference (it is suggested; one can hardly consider it more than a suggestion) arose in those early days when "a past sense had not been fully mediated for the augment, and consequently the use was avoided in narrative, except where there was some strong scansional



inducement," and verbs of the type in question offered no such inducement. The augment had been so far mediated as to be just compatible with a past meaning, but was "still distinctly felt as a metrical license." These aorist temporals, in fact, illustrate Schulze's scheme of short syllables under ictus; the unaugmented forms would be open tribrachs, etc. And this "principle" has been arrived at by observation of the pluperfects, of which in *Il.\** (narrative) there are 8 certain augmented instances, *ἡρήριστο* (4), *ἡρήρει*, *ὠρώρει*, *ἡνώγεα*, and *ἡνώγον*. "The primary example is *ἡρήριστο*, where the use of the augment is exactly parallel to the lengthening of a short syllable under ictus (*ἡρήριστο*: *Οὐλύμπιοι*). The extension to *ἡρήρει* (and *ὠρώρει*) is secondary; but even here the *ρ* still keeps us in sight of the tradition, which is quite lost in *ἡνώγει-ον*, by this time perhaps felt as imperfects." But will this persuade anybody? "Primary" character of *ἡρήριστο*, "secondary extension," the "tradition" and the effect of the *ρ*—it seems all mere guessing. The only facts are that *ἡρήριστο* resembles *ἡρήρει* and scans like *Οὐλύμπιοι*.

From the tables given I find the type *ἤκουσε* supplies 48 instances in the narrative of the poems, against 206 unaugmented (omitting 80 compounds which augmented would give - - -), or roughly 1 to 4. So "a dislike to augmented amphibrachs which was early petrified into a sort of rule" is inferred,<sup>1</sup> and *ἤκουσε* is even spoken of as "a forbidden scansion"! There is a simpler explanation. Words of the form - - - have two distinct advantages over those of the form - - ∪: they do not necessitate a spondee, and they can end the line most conveniently.<sup>2</sup> Hence there are in the poems 3 of them to every 2 of the value - - ∪. That in the case of these verbs the proportion (4 to 1) should be much higher than that (3 to 2) for words generally is to be expected. For other words there was no resource; the long initial syllable was there and could not be got rid of. In the aorist it could be lightened by dropping the augment.

The other vital fact is that the unaugmented syllabic "is not felt as an inflection which has been docked of its first syllable; quite the

<sup>1</sup> With the help of evidence from the similes which cannot be allowed.

<sup>2</sup> It almost became petrified into a rule that they should do so, or form the third trochee. From 8 verbs giving 418 aorists, I find 319 final and 87 in the third trochee.



reverse, *the augmented tense is treated as a compound.*" The augment was "still consciously regarded as an adverb in composition," and the first piece of evidence is that in the whole *Iliad* (narrative) there are only 16 instances of *δέ* immediately after the syllabic, while *Il.\** (narrative) alone gives 280. "The difference in the figures is conclusive." Testing for the first half of the *Iliad* (narrative) I find, taking certainties (and so rejecting *ὡς ἔφατ' ἔδεισεν δέ, ἐπεστυ-άχοντο δ'*, etc.), that there are 163 instances—10 augmented<sup>1</sup> and 153 unaugmented. But *two-thirds* of the latter are initial in the line, mostly in fixed phrases, and could not, the vast majority of them, stand there if augmented; 20 could not, if augmented, be used in the hexameter; and a number more are in fixed formulae, *βῆ δὲ μετ', λῦσε δὲ γυνία*, etc., after the Bucolic diaeresis. These marked features of the distribution have escaped Mr. Drewitt's notice. They forbid acceptance of his conclusion.

But there is another argument. "There could be no more natural use than an amphibrach+*δέ* (e.g., *ἔθηκε δέ*) placed after the weak caesura; and we shall hardly think it a mere chance" that there is no instance in the *Iliad* (narrative) and only one (θ 193) in the *Odyssey* (narrative). This again is less formidable than it looks. A word of the form - - - is naturally rare after the third trochee. I have marked only 304 such in the poems, and they are mostly of well-known types. In only 154 is the form followed by *δέ*, in only 91 of these is the form verbal, and in only 54 is the verb an aorist indicative. In 4 of these, *ἔπαυσε δέ* and *ἔθηκε δέ*, twice each, the verb is augmented; in the remaining 48 it is unaugmented—*half* the occurrences being of *νόησε, δάμασσε, κόμισσε, γέλασσε*, and *κάλυψε*, in recurring combinations. As the third trochee ends in a vowel 7 times for every 2 in a consonant, unaugmented syllabics follow it naturally. It hardly seems necessary to say more except this, that if the use was so natural, it is strange that it is not frequent in Odyssean speech, where, we are told, we "assist at the final triumph of the augment." The recollection of it as a prefixed adverb must have vanished, and these *δέ* cases should have been common. On the contrary, there is one occurrence (λ 546). Even speech in the *Iliad* has two (O 250, P 81).

<sup>1</sup> Including *ἐφέλιξε* and *εἰλετο*.

Yet again, the *Apologoi* are said to be "the home and source" of curious augments. As an example, they provide 15 instances of the syllabic+δέ, as many as are found in the whole narrative of the *Odyssey*. But from the latter are excluded 9 instances of εἴλετο and 3 of εἶσε, while all except 6 of ἔστη-αν are different aorists. In the *Apologoi* ἔστη-αν and ἔγνω give 8 occurrences, and 2 more are in a repeated line, leaving only 4 other aorists after δέ. This limited variety is a relevant fact in the comparison, which might, I think, be usefully extended to the imperfects and an examination of the aorists excluded as uncertain. The evidence supplied by the syllabic+δέ is thus both slender and precarious.

Another piece of evidence that the augment was felt as separable is obtained from the position of the preposition in a compound verb, but it is admittedly not conclusive. "The main support for the theory is the odd restriction of tmesis in similes." There are 8 cases of tmesis in 62 compound verbs, and, so far as my tests have gone, that is not an unduly low proportion.

For the syllabic augment the pluperfect again is useful. In *Il.\** (narrative) there are "no less than" 12 certain instances of the pluperfect syllabic after the ninth hemimeral. After the seventh and third, which are twice as common as the ninth, there are 4 and 2, respectively. So these augments are said to be "massed" after the ninth, which should have only about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  instead of 12. For the seventh the occurrences are cited, to show that 3 of the 4 are of a recurring line. They are not cited for the ninth, but I find that, omitting one case in which the augment follows a long vowel, the remaining 11 are all included in 3 types—"no less than" 7 of ἐβεβήκει (in one case ἐγεγώνει) preceded by a participle (in one case a noun), 2 of ἡλικίην ἐκέαστο, and 2 of -ων ἐτέτυκτο. The limited variety is again a striking fact, and surely the data are scanty to support the argument that the augmentation of these pluperfects is but one of many devices to give what is called true scansion and to avoid overlength in the ninth hemimeral, where it is said overlength is specially disliked. In our cases the overlength, as φρονέων βεβήκει, is an impossible scansion.

There is an elaborate and somewhat complicated discussion on pp. 107 f. of aorists with the syllabic before two consonants. In *Il.\**

(narrative) there are "no less than 113." "The corresponding unaugmented forms do not come to more than 176, so that there must be in these aorists something which interferes with" what is called "normal usage." That is, relatively to the total numbers of augmented and unaugmented aorists, 113 is too high, or 176 too low. I do not find, on a rough calculation, that 176 is a remarkable figure. On the other hand, 113 is certainly high, but an explanation *saute aux yeux*. Aorists commencing with two consonants have a great advantage over those commencing with only one. They can be used with the augment as the first word of a verse, and nearly half of the 113 are initial. The remainder seem to be in due proportion to the total of unaugmented aorists.

Another point is an alleged marked difference between B<sup>2</sup> etc., and the *Odyssey* on the one hand and *Il.*\* on the other, in regard to the unaugmented aorists. In narrative "a higher proportion is massed at the beginning of the line and after the weak caesura." I cannot discover a marked difference. The ratios for those after the weak caesura in *Il.*\* and the *Odyssey* appear to be about 1:9.6 and 1:10.6, respectively. The difference is easily accounted for by the mass of frequently recurring expressions in the fighting books of the *Iliad* which happen to contain unaugmented aorists after that particular pause. Difference of subject has its effect. A number of such aorists that are common in the *Iliad* hardly appear in the *Odyssey*. As to initial cases, the ratios for *Il.*\*, B<sup>2</sup> etc., and the *Odyssey*, work out at 1:5.19, 1:4.9 and 1:5, respectively.

The difference between narrative and speech in the matter of augmentation is said to be only one of many scansional points of difference, several of which are mentioned. I have tested one—the present infinitive in *-ειν*. It is said that the ratio of fixed *-ειν* to changeable *-ειν* + *-μεν* + *-μεναι* is very much higher in the speeches of the *Iliad* than in the narrative. On my counting, the excess is represented by the rough proportions 100:135 and 100:115. But why the present infinitive only? Are we to differentiate between them and future infinitives in *-σειν*, *-ξειν*, *-ψειν*? If we add these, the proportions become 100:113 and 100:109. If we add the second aorists, the figures favor narrative; in the *Odyssey* decidedly.

Wherever I have tested the statistics, they are indecisive. On

the other hand, my searchings and countings, which have occupied months, have convinced me that there is nothing inconsistent with the prevailing view of the Homeric use of the augment. I am compelled to leave the matter for the present, but I hope someone else may continue the test. There is still much to be discovered, and I venture to commend the augment as a subject of postgraduate research, and also the paper on differences between speech and narrative scansion in *C.Q.* II, 94 ff. No doubt there are differences. They are to be expected. Terminations and inflexions differ in the two cases. In narrative the first and second persons are almost wholly barred, and presents, futures, and imperatives rare or altogether absent. Moods, tenses, and cases, and pronouns, conjunctions, adverbs, and particles show differences. There are many words, some of them quite common words, which occur much more frequently in speech than in narrative, or vice versa. There are phrases, recurring lines, and epic commonplace which are the exclusive property of the one or the other. Indeed the vocabulary as a whole differs widely in the two categories—especially the verbs, as a simple count will show. It will be an interesting task to trace the effect of these differences on the scansional phenomena. That anything will be discovered pointing to difference of age or authorship may well, on past—and present—experience, be doubted.

ST. ANDREWS

## TWO TEXTUAL PROBLEMS IN THE *DIALOGUS* OF TACITUS

BY ALFRED GUDEMAN

### I. THE EXTENT OF THE TWO LACUNAE

Prior to the year 1901, when Sabbadini<sup>1</sup> discovered in an Ambrosian MS some references which Pier Candido Decembrio (1399-1477) jotted down in his diary, our knowledge of the existence of an extensive lacuna after c. 35 (*ad veros iudices ventum*) was entirely based upon the testimony of the following marginal notes in our MSS: A: *hic desunt sex pagelle*. B: *deerant in exemplari sex pagellae vetustate consumptae*. E: *hic deest multum. in exemplari dicitur deesse sex paginas*. Δ: *hic est defectus uni' folii cum dimidio*. V: *hic est defectus unius folii cum dimidio*. Ven.: *hic deficiunt quattuor parvae pagellae*. C (or C<sup>2</sup>): *multum deficit in exemplaribus quae reperiuntur*. In D only 12½ lines are left vacant and in H a space equivalent to nearly ½ of the treatise was apparently reserved for the subsequent discovery of the lost portions. The printed editions finally, up to that of Beroaldus, give a continuous text, without the slightest intimation of a lacuna. The identical statements of ABE are, of course, not so many independent witnesses, but they were all derived ultimately from a common source, the codex Hersfeldensis, which, we now know, was brought to Italy by Henoeh of Ascoli about 1455,<sup>2</sup> 16 pages of the original being still extant in the cod. Aesinus,<sup>3</sup> discovered in Iesi in 1902. B's specific information, if it was not added conjecturally by Pontanus, from whose copy B is directly derived, may reproduce the marginal note of the archetype exactly, but whether it was this codex or its parent MS which preserved the evidence justifying the number *six* is no longer ascertainable.

The determination of the extent of this large gap has, of course, considerably exercised the ingenuity of critics for a long time, but as

<sup>1</sup> *Riv. di fil. class.* XXIX, 262; Scoperti 141, 166. Cf. also Wissowa, Preface to the Sijthoff facsimile of the cod. Leidensis (B), pp. v-vii (1907).

<sup>2</sup> Decembrio, as he tells us himself, saw the MS from which he drew his information in Rome in that year.

<sup>3</sup> See Annibaldi's admirable edition of this MS and Wissowa, *op. cit.*

the exact number of the pages of the archetype was unknown, all efforts in the above direction were necessarily as fanciful, as were the guesses at the content. All that is quite certain is, that the causes which made Greek oratory what it was were dealt with under the same point of view as in the discussion concerning Roman eloquence which follows the gap, this being made evident by the words "*eadem ratio in nostra quoque civitate antiquorum eloquentiam provexit.*" Nevertheless, Brotier, whose slumbers were doubtless disturbed by the laurels of Freinsheim's Livy, attempted a restoration of the lost text, ludicrous both in style and substance, and Habbe, on the basis of wholly unwarranted premises, fixed the extent of the gap at  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the entire treatise, others indulging in still other conjectures. (For the details, see my *Prolegomena to the Dialogus* lxxxiv ff.) In this perplexity the note of Decembrio on the *Dialogus* unexpectedly came to our aid. It reads as follows: "Cornelii Taciti dialogus de oratoribus. Incipit 'Sepe—retineat.' *Opus foliorum XIII in columellis.* Post hec deficiunt sex folia. nam finit 'quam ingentibus verbis prosequantur. Cum ad veros iudices ventum.' Deinde sequitur: 'rem cogitare nihil abiectum, nihil humile.' post hec sequuntur folia duo cum dimidio et finit: 'Cum adrisissent discessimus.'"

As the MS from which Decembrio gleaned his information was written in double columns, a practice which had gone out of vogue in the fifteenth century, Sabbadini justly concluded that Decembrio's MS was not an apographon of the Hersfeldensis but the *original*,<sup>1</sup> and he further calculated the extent of the lacuna as amounting to  $\frac{3}{8}$  of the entire treatise<sup>2</sup> ( $14 + 2\frac{1}{2} = 16:6$ ). So far as I am aware, this calculation has been universally accepted; at all events, it has nowhere been called into question, and yet the surprisingly huge extent of the lacuna ought alone to have aroused suspicion. For as Messalla had only reluctantly, on the urgent request of Maternus, consented to continue the discussion along the lines designated by the same Maternus, and as the history of Greek eloquence, serving merely as an analogous illustration, cannot possibly have been

<sup>1</sup> It was doubtless merely for the sake of conformity that the additions to the original 16 pages in the cod. Aesinus were also written in double columns.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*: "La lacuna comprende circa i  $\frac{3}{8}$  dell' intero (italics are mine) libro: a un di presso quattrocento righe di una ordinaria edizione di Lipsia."

accorded a prominence disproportionate to the main design of the *Dialogus*, the problem as to what else could have been treated at considerable length, would be rendered still more perplexing than it had previously been. Happily for our peace of mind it turns out that Sabbadini's arithmetic was sadly out of joint, for the wording of Decembrio leaves no doubt whatever that the text of the *Dialogus* in the codex Hersfeldensis contained  $14+6+2\frac{1}{2}=22\frac{1}{2}$  folia=45 *paginae* in all. The loss (6 folia) sustained constituted, therefore, only between  $\frac{1}{3}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$  and not  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the *entire* treatise, more exactly  $12:45 = .266$  per cent.

This gap is still sufficiently extensive to have included the close of Messalla's speech and the discussion of Greek oratory. At the same time it effectively refutes the opinion of those who, though they also assumed a second lacuna after c. 40, 6 *admovebant*, of which more anon, nevertheless assigned all the intervening portion to Messalla, to the exclusion of Secundus. Right here, however, a difficulty, which even Wissowa<sup>1</sup> overlooked, arises in connection with the testimony of the MSS cited above. Decembrio, it will be recalled, speaks of *folia*; the MSS ABE, however, mention only six *paginae* or *pagellae*! There is no evidence, so far as I have been able to ascertain, that these terms were ever employed as synonyms in the fifteenth century or earlier and, since Decembrio uses *folia* consistently and repeatedly in its proper sense, there is but one way out of the dilemma, and that is, to assume that the common source of ABE had inadvertently substituted the possibly more familiar term *pagina* or *pagella* for *folium*. This explanation is all the more plausible, since even modern critics, like Habbe and Peterson, were guilty of the same error or, like Sabbadini, Annibaldi, Wissowa, and others, failed to notice the glaring discrepancy between the statements of the MSS and Decembrio now existing.

While the unimpeachable testimony of Decembrio, based as it is on documentary evidence, enabled us to determine once for all the exact extent of a lacuna indicated in our MSS, thus disposing of a long-standing problem which would have remained insoluble without the accession of new material, the codex Aesinus, already referred to, renders still more valuable service in another direction.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, vii.



Students of the *Dialogus* text are familiar with the equally time-honored controversy regarding the justification of assuming a second lacuna at c. 40, 6, after the word *admovebant*, albeit there is in this case no indication in our MSS of a gap at this point. Heumann (1719), who was the first to notice the "hiatus," did not pursue the thought any further, going quite astray at that, in attributing the preceding portion to Messalla. As a matter of fact, internal reasons of irrefutable validity make it impossible to assign cc. 36-42 (c. 42 *finierat Maternus*) to one and the same speaker.<sup>1</sup> That the failure of the MSS to indicate a lacuna does not militate against such a supposition, provided the character of the context imperatively demands it, is well known<sup>2</sup> and in the present instance certainly Bentley's famous dictum "*ratio et res ipsa centum codicibus potiores sunt*" can be accepted without compunctions of conscience. As, however, the absence of external evidence still remained the one apparently insuperable obstacle to a more general acquiescence in the assumption in question, it was a consummation devoutly to be wished that something might turn up which would explain how a lacuna could easily have arisen at c. 40, 6 without leaving any trace of its existence. This highly welcome evidence is now furnished by the codex Aesinus. By its aid it can be demonstrated with all but mathematical precision, that cc. 36,1-40, 6 *took up exactly 4 pages or two folia of the archetype*, which implies that *faces admovebant* formed the last words, and *non de otiosa* the beginning of a page. Now nothing is a priori more natural than that a MS gap would be overlooked if an *entire* leaf had become detached, and this would be all but inevitable if the words preceding the lacuna, as happens to be the case here, also closed a sentence. If it be added, that the majority of modern critics have either failed or refused to recognize a lacuna, we can certainly not be surprised, that a mediaeval scribe did not divine its existence. To suppose, on the other hand, that a leaf was accidentally lost at the precise juncture, where the strongest

<sup>1</sup> See the full discussion of the subject in my *Proleg.* lxxv-lxxxii. Diemel, in his frantic efforts to maintain the identity of the speaker, takes refuge in the paradoxical hypothesis that Maternus-Tacitus intentionally indulged in a series of antinomies (alias irreconcilable contradictions). Not to mention that on this theory the otiose repetitions would still defy explanation, it is quite inconceivable what subtle purpose this early predecessor of Kant desired to subserve by so antithetical a process.

<sup>2</sup> See also *Proleg.* lxxviii f.

of internal reasons pointed to an interruption of the context, would be a coincidence too marvelous for credence. It remains for me to show how the surprising result stated above was reached.

The codex Aesinus has preserved, as already remarked, 8 folia or 16 pages of the archetype. They cover c. 13,2 *munia*—c. 40,6 *missum*, of the *Agricola*, being written in double columns. The lines, of which there are thirty to the page, are of *irregular* length, very brief lines usually marking the end of a chapter, though they occasionally also occur elsewhere. The chapters themselves, moreover, are more numerous than those of our modern printed text (26 as against 36, with 33 short lines). The *Dialogus* and the Suetonius fragment and cc. 1-13,1; 40,7 to the end of the *Agricola* had become detached from the archetype shortly after the time of Decembrio, who still had the intact MS before him. The *Germania* and the missing portions of the *Agricola* were, indeed, subsequently copied from it by another scribe, but the *Dialogus* and Suetonius fragment were not also added, possibly because these had already been sold or otherwise disposed of and then lost.

Such being the history of the composition of the Aesinus and its archetype, so far as it concerns us here, it is self-evident that the still existing portions of the archetype may be taken as accurately representing the character of the *Dialogus* text as well, including all the peculiarities mentioned above. Now the length of a column line in the original text of the *Agricola* varies between 4.4 and 4.85 or of a double line between 8.8 and 9.7 cm., the grand average being 9.4 cm. An average page, therefore, contained 282 cm. ( $9.4 \times 30$ ). On the other hand, a full line of a Teubner text measures 8.5 cm. The entire length of the printed Teubner text, from cc. 36-40,6 *admovebant*, is 1025.4 cm., but as 1 cm. of this text is equivalent to 1.1 cm. of the archetype, the same amount of text covered 1127.94 cm. in the MS. Dividing this total by 282, the number of cm. to a page, we find that cc. 36-40,6 took up 3.999, or *exactly four complete pages* in the codex Hersfeldensis. The quite insignificant fractional difference—it actually amounts to less than a single letter!—is amply accounted for by the aforesaid inequality of the lines in the archetype, which in the present instance, of course, eludes an even approximate calculation.

## II. THE VALIDITY OF THE X FAMILY V. Y

The apparently trivial notes in Decembrio's diary not only give us exact information regarding the space occupied by the *Germania*, the *Agricola*, *Dialogus*, and the Suetonius fragment in the archetype of all our MSS, but they are also of no little value in deciding, what has hitherto been altogether overlooked, the vexed question as regards the respective authority of the X class of MSS now represented by A (Vaticanus 1862) and B (Leidensis) and the so-called Y class which is generally made to include all the other MSS extant. Michaelis, as is well known, reached the conclusion that the former has preserved the better tradition, and his recension of the text was consistently constructed on that basis. Later editors did not, however, follow in his footsteps, but have advocated with more or less fervor an eclectic method. The exhaustive discussion of the subject in my *Proleg.* cxxix–xxxviii, concludes with these words: "The Y family, albeit it has suffered at the hands of learned and unlearned scribes, represents as a body the purer tradition. . . . A does, indeed, faithfully reproduce its archetypon. But that archetypon must yield the palm to Y, which has proved itself to be more accurate in preserving what Tacitus must have written." This verdict has not been overthrown; on the contrary, it can now be shown, what no one could have suspected before the discovery of Decembrio's notes, that the scribe of the lost MS X *did not reproduce* the codex Hersfeldensis as *faithfully* or as *accurately* as did Y, the parent of the other extant MSS. The 16 pages of the Hersfeldensis still extant would unquestionably have furnished superabundant proof of this; unfortunately, however, neither A nor B contains the *Agricola*. We are therefore confined to the few original passages which Decembrio copied from the archetype merely for the purpose, be it observed, of precisely marking the beginning and end of the treatises and in the *Dialogus* also the beginning and end of the lacuna. Happily these passages exhibit a number of most significant variants, which suffice to establish the statement made above.

- D. 35: *rem cogitare nihil abiectum, nihil humile*: Decembrio ex archetypo  
*rem cogitant nihil humile vel abiectum*: AB  
*rem cogitare nihil h. nihil a.*:  $\omega^1$

<sup>1</sup>  $\omega$  = reliqui vel omnes codices.

That Decembrio found *cogitare* in his MS is made evident by the fact that he mistook *nihil abiectum* for its object, and in consequence omitted the words following, *eloqui poterat*. That the effective anaphora represents the genuine reading is rendered certain by a Ciceronian parallel, *De fin.* 5.57: "*nihil abiectum, nihil humile cogitant*," where, it will be noticed, not only the adjectives are in the same order as given by Decembrio, but we also have *cogitare* as their governing verb. This remarkable coincidence might at first glance suggest some causal relation between the two passages as the most plausible explanation of Decembrio's reading. But such an inference is open to serious objections. For what we know of the work of this Italian humanist makes it extremely improbable that he was so profoundly conversant with Cicero's voluminous dialogue as to recall a phrase not intrinsically noteworthy, and that this untimely reminiscence then prompted him to make an arbitrary change of a passage which he cited, as he did eight others, for the purely technical reason pointed out above. It remains to suggest some plausible explanation for the unanimous reading of all our MSS. I can account for the transposition variant in no other way than by supposing, that *nihil abiectum* or *nihil humile*, having been accidentally omitted, owing to the anaphora, a frequent source of error, was subsequently placed above the line, XY inserting the words in one place, Decembrio in another, the archetype furnishing no clue to the original collocation. The habit of Tacitus in the *Dialogus* of inverting the order of synonyms in Cicero—my commentary furnishes very abundant illustrations of this practice—would to a certain extent favor the order given in the MSS. But be this as it may, it does not help the case of X, for the substitution of *vel*, though easily misread for *nil*, certainly introduces an *inferior* reading, while *cogitant*, found neither in Decembrio nor in Y, looks suspiciously like a deliberate attempt to round out the sentence syntactically.

X fares no better in the following instances, where Decembrio, in agreement with Y, has alone preserved the genuine text.

Sueton., p. 126 Rf.: *Pisonem proconsulem*: Dec. ω, *personalem*: AB

Sueton., p. 127: *excanduisset ut*: Dec. ω, *excanduisse et ut*: AB corr. B<sup>3</sup>  
(*excanduisse ut et*: C, *excanduisse*: G)

The *wrong* reading of AB is here shared by two inferior members of the Y class.

While the genesis of the above variants is easily understood, they prove, in spite of their apparent insignificance, the untrustworthiness of X, the last available example pointing still more emphatically to the same conclusion, for here the paleographical origin of the corruption of X is more difficult to explain, the resulting unintelligible reading being far removed from the genuine text:

Sueton., p. 127: *conspectu*: Dec. ω, *ypseum*: A, *ipseum*: B

It stands to reason that as a rule a reading, whether right or wrong, if found in all our MSS, represents the text of the archetype and this inference is practically confirmed by some of the readings of Decembrio, although in this case the contingency that he too like any other scribe may have misread his copy, must, of course, be taken into account. The passages referred to are herewith appended, the question of their correctness being irrelevant to the present discussion:

*Germ.* 46 ext.: *in medium relinquam* (for the more usual *in medio*).

*Agr.* 46 ext.: *oblivio obruet* (for *obruit*, Haupt, edd.).

Sueton., p. 101: *rudis scilicet* (for *rudi*, owing to *scriptura continua*).

p. 100: *nec in usu quidem*, Dec.; *ne in usu quidem*, ω (a very frequent confusion).

p. 126: *cum cohibeant lictores* (*cum cohibente lictore*, Stephanus followed by Reifferscheid).

p. 177: *M. insuper Brutum . . . invocaret Regum* (Absurd, *legum*, ω; the confusion between *l* and *r* is frequent) *ac liberatis auctorem ac* (Dec.; *et*, ω) *vindicem*.

MUNICH

## STUDIES IN GREEK NOUN-FORMATION

Based in part upon material collected by the late A. W. STRATTON, and prepared under the supervision of CARL D. BUCK.<sup>1</sup>

### LABIAL TERMINATIONS III

Words in -πῆ or -ῥᾶ (also -ῥᾶ)—in -πῆς or -ῥᾶς, gen. -που—in -πος and -πον, gen. -που.

By E. H. STURTEVANT

Of the Greek words with stems in π two groups contain elements which, while originally independent stems, came to approach more or less closely the condition of suffixes.

1. This is notably true of the well-defined group of words like ἀλλοδαπός and ποδαπός. According to the most widely accepted explanation they contain -απο-, identical with the second element of Latin *longinquus*, *propinquus*, and of Sanskrit *praty-añc-*, *praty-ac-*, etc., while the δ is the nominative-accusative neuter pronominal ending (cf. Latin *aliud*, *quod*, and the use of such forms as the first element of compounds in Sanskrit, e.g., *tad-ojas-*). Cf. Bezzenberger *BB.* 4. 337 ff.; J. Schmidt *Pluralbildungen* 246, 397; Brugmann *Gr. Gram.*<sup>3</sup> 240, *Ausdrücke für den Begriff der Totalität* 21, *Grundriss*<sup>1</sup> 2. 54, 469 (not repeated in second edition); Tserepis *Τὰ σύνθετα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης* 168 ff. It was once thought that the δ might also be inherited in ἡμεδαπός and ὑμεδαπός, in view of the Sanskrit compounds with *asmad-* and *yusmad-* as prior member. But since it has been shown that the latter are probably of secondary origin (cf. Flensburg in the work cited below and Richter *IF.* 9. 231 ff.), it is preferable to attribute the δ in these words, as in παντοδαπός, τηλεδαπός, to the analogical influence of ἀλλοδαπός, etc.

The identification of the Greek and Sanskrit types was adversely criticized by Nils Flensburg *Ursprung und Bildung des Pronomens αὐτός* 35 ff., who remarked that in the Sanskrit compounds the meaning is *direction toward*, not *direction from* as in Greek, and furthermore that the -añc- is never added directly to a pronominal

<sup>1</sup> See Introductory Note, *CP.* V. 323 ff.



stem but always to an adverbial form. While these differences are by no means insuperable objections to the comparison (on the meaning cf. Tserepis, *loc. cit.*), they undoubtedly weaken its cogency. Other explanations of ἀλλοδαπός, etc., none of which has met with favor, have been offered, e.g., by Flensburg, *loc. cit.*, and by Fay *AJP.* 28. 413.<sup>1</sup>

The ordinary meaning of these compounds may be illustrated by ἡμεδαπός "nostras" and ποδαπός "cuias." The latter word, however, came to be used in the more general sense of ποίος, and in this use it often appears as ποταπός (cf. Lobeck *Phryn.* 56 ff.; Rutherford 128 ff.). The τ may be due to the assimilative influence of the voiceless mutes preceding and following (so Schweizer *Gramm. der pergamenischen Inschriften* 107), or to the analogy of such words, as πότε and πότερος.

That ἐχθοδοπός had a more general meaning from very early times is shown by Homer's ἐχθοδοπήσαι; but the δ seems inexplicable unless we suppose that the word once belonged here. The ο instead of α may be in part the result of assimilation to the vowels before and after it, and in part to association with such words as χαροπός and δόλοψ.

2. The root ὀπ- "see" (I.E. *oq̥-*) appears commonly as final member of compounds in four forms: -οψ, -ωψ (fem. -ωπισ), and -οπος, -ωπος (fem. -πη).<sup>2</sup> On the supposed appearance of the same root

<sup>1</sup> [A still different explanation, which has occurred to the undersigned as a possibility perhaps worthy of consideration, may be mentioned here. The words are to be analyzed ἄλλο-δαπός, πο-δαπός, etc., and were originally possessive compounds, accented \*ἄλλό-δαπος, etc., like ἄλλό-δημος, ἄλλό-φυλος. The second element is a derivative of the root seen in δάπτω, Lat. *daps*, which is itself an extension of a simpler root *dā*, *dē*. For the whole group of cognates, cf. Walde *Lat. Etym. Wörterbuch s.v. daps*. We should of course assume none of the various specializations of meaning seen in δάπτω, δαπάνη, *daps*, etc., but rather start from the more original sense of "divide" (Skt. *dāti* "divides," *dāna-m* "division, pasture"), so that -δαπος would mean "division, district, region," with much the same semantic development as *δήμος*. The origin of the words becoming obscure, owing to the absence of a simplex \*δαπος, they came to be accented on the final and inflected with three endings after the analogy of the great mass of uncompounded oxytone adjectives.—C. D. BUCK.]

<sup>2</sup> The forms -οπας and -ωπας are almost entirely confined to a few personal names. Homer's εὐρύοπα, nominative, accusative, and vocative, was certainly not primarily an *ā*-stem. According to J. Schmidt's well-known explanation (*Pluralbildungen*) it is in origin a substantive neuter *n*-stem. It is also possible that the word was originally εὐρύοψ, and that the accusative was employed for the metrically impossible nominative and vocative after the analogy of such epithets as νεφεληγερέτα. The vocatives



with suffixal value in certain Sanskrit formations, cf. J. Schmidt *Pluralbildungen* 398 ff., Brugmann *Grundriss*<sup>2</sup> 2. 1. 13, 482.

In a few words the root has a verbal force. Homeric *εὐρύσπα* probably means "far-seeing." The phrase *κατ' ἐνώπα* equals *ἐν ὀπῇ*. *περιωπή* "wide view," Hom., +, occurs in Thuc. 4. 87 in the sense of "circumspection, consideration," and thus stands in close relation to dialectic *ἀπέρωπος* = \**ἀπερίωπος* "inconsiderate," of which Phrynichus says (*Praep. Soph.* 10. 18 de Borries): *ἀπέρωπος* σημαίνει ἀναϊδής, σκληρός, τραχύς, οἷον ἀπερίωπος καὶ ἀπερίβλεπτος, ὃν οὐκ ἂν τις περιωπήσαιτο διὰ τὴν ἀηδίαν. καὶ ἀπέρωπον οἷον τραχὺ καὶ ἀνατεταμένον.<sup>1</sup> *ἐπωπή* occurs in Aeschylus, and *ἔσωπή* in Oppian. Hesychius cites from Aeschylus *ἀμφίσωπος*· *περίωπος*. Sophocles' *τηλωπός* "seen from afar" finds an echo in *τηλῶπις*, Orph. *Arg.* 903. We should group here also *πρόσωπον* and *μέτωπον*.

The meaning "eye" appears, for example, in the second member of *ἐλίκωψ*, Hom., *χαροπός*, Hom., +, *δεινωπός*, Hes., *μονώψ*, Aesch., *μαρμαρωπός*, Eur., *ἔξυωπός*, Arist., *μονωπός*, Call., *μελανωπός*, Opp. An easy semantic shift gives the meaning "hole," which appears in Homer's *δίκτυον πολυωπὸν* and *στενωπὸν ὁδόν*. In classic and later Greek the noun *ὀπή* meant "hole," and compounds with this sense ended in *-ωπος* and *-ωπη*; *ἡμίωπος* "with half its holes," of a flute, Anacr., *ἐνόπη* "earring," Soph., *διόπη* "earring," Ar., *δίωπος* "with two holes," Poll., +, *μετόπη*, Vitruv., +, *ἔσωπος* = *ἔσοδος*, inser.

The meaning "face" is found in *εἰσωπός*, *εὐῶπις*, Hom., *κελαινώψ*, Pind., *δυσωπείσθαι* "be ashamed," Plat., + (cf. the personal name *Δύσωπος*), and probably in *σκυθρωπός* "sullen," Aesch., +. The meaning "face" is often generalized into "appearance,"<sup>2</sup> as in *οἴνοπι*

*κυνῶπα*, Hom., and *χαριῶπα* Orph. H., may be explained in a similar way, although \**κυνῶψ* and \**χαριῶψ* would be possible in dactylic verse. For *κελαινώπα*, Soph. Ai. 954, there is a variant *κελαινώπα* from which the vulgar reading may have arisen by contamination with the equivalent form *κελαινωπὸν*. The dative *πανεπωπῇ* in an inscription of Roman times may be referred to a nominative \**πανεπωπῆς*, and Hesychius' *ἐπῶπει* may as easily be emended to *ἐπωπῇ* as to *ἐπῶπη*. Eustathius' phraseology clearly betrays the fact that his *βώπης* and *γλαυκῶπης* are coined on the basis of *βῶπις* and *γλαυκῶπις*.

<sup>1</sup> The variant *ἀτέρωπος* in Aesch. *Cho.* 600 has rightly been rejected in favor of *ἀπέρωπος*; but this was not the only passage that Phrynichus had in mind, for he cites also the form *ἀτέρωπον*.

<sup>2</sup> "Having the appearance of" is equivalent to "appearing as," and the latter

πόντι, *Il.* 23. 316, *νῖον τερατωπὸν ιδέσθαι*, *h. Hom. Pan.* 36, *χρυσῶπα θύρσον*, *Eur. Bacch.* 553, *χιονωπὸν ἐέρσην*, *Nonn. D.* 17. 43.

All four forms of the root occur in compounds at all periods, but not with equal frequency. *-οπος* is chiefly confined to the common word *χαροπός*, personal names, and words which have the meaning "hole." *-ωψ* (feminine *-ωπισ*) is common at all periods and occurs in all uses.

In regard to the two other forms, however, there is a marked difference between Homer and later Greek. In Homer *-οψ* is a favorite form and *-ωπος* is extremely rare; we meet *πρόσωπον*, *μέτωπον*, *εἰσωπός* "in sight of," *πολυωπός* "with many holes," the river name *Ἄσσωπός*, and the problematic *ἄνθρωπος*, but no word of the type afterward so common. In later authors words of the Homeric type *οἶνωψ* "wine-colored" disappear except for a very few literary survivals. Instead we have such words as *οἶνωψ*, *Soph.*, +, and *οἶνωπός*, *Eur.*, +. The earliest word in *-ωπος* to carry the meaning "appearance" is *τερατωπός*, *h. Hom. Pan.* We occasionally meet apparently new words in *-οψ* until late times, but in many cases there is evidence that they are really very ancient; some of them are used as ethnica or mythological proper names in the early period, others are related to pre-Greek place names, and for others still either high antiquity or foreign origin is suggested by their obscure etymology.

3. Now the forms *-οψ* and *-ωψ* (feminine *-ωπισ*), which stand beside each other in Homer, show in a number of words a remarkable usage which, with rare and doubtful exceptions, is not shared by *-οπος* and *-ωπος*. In prehistoric times *-οψ* and *-ωψ* came to be used with the value of a suffix in cases where none of the proper meanings of the root is apparent. Some words of this sort make their appearance late, but in several such cases we have indications of their antiquity; and the fact that the usage is not shared by *-ωπος*, later the most common form of the root, makes it probable that new words

meaning might also easily develop from the passive use of the root in *τηλωπός* "seen from afar." Perhaps we should assume both processes.

*δοτράπη*: *δοτράπτω* (cf. uncertain etymology) came under the influence of our compounds, and yielded *δοτερ-οπή*, *Hom.*, +, which was understood as "star-like." This led in turn to *δοτερωπός*. Homer's *στερωπή* and Sophocles' *στέροψ* seem to imply a form of *δοτήη* without prothetic vowel. Otherwise Boisacq, Prellwitz, and references.

with -οψ and -ωψ as a suffix were not formed in the historic period. We therefore treat the phenomenon separately from the weakening of compounds in -ώνψ and -ωπός in historic times (see pp. 428 ff.).

The most noteworthy use of the suffix is in the names of animals. κέρκωψ "a long-tailed ape," Manil.: κέρκος "tail" is shown to be very old by the mythological Κέρκωπες. κερκώπη "a long-tailed cicada," Ar., +, may be much later. κώνωψ Batrachom., Aesch., + "mosquito" is probably a derivative of κώνος \*"sting" (Prellwitz; Spiegelberg KZ. 41. 131, thinks it may be an Egyptian word). δρύωψ, a bird, Ar.: δρύς seems to recur in the ethnicon Δρύοπες and the Homeric personal name Δρύοψ. σκάλοψ "mole," Ar., +, is derived from σκάλλω. The bird name αέροψ, Hesych., Schol. Ar. (Ionic ήέροπος, Anton. Lib.), seems to contain the stem αερ- (Ionic ήερ-) "air." Hesychius has also αεροπός· κοχλιάς. ἔλ(λ)οψ (also ἔλλοπος, ἔλοψ, ἔλαψ), an epithet of fishes and a kind of fish, is probably to be connected with the obscure ἔλλός which occurs twice as an epithet of fishes. κνώψ "beast," Nic., κίκνωψ· θηρίον, Hesych., and κνωπεύς "bear," Hesych. are connected with κνώδαλον "wild animal," Hom., +. κνώπετον, Call., +, is a contamination of this base with κινέω and ἐρπετόν; κινωπηστής, Nic., shows the influence of ἐρπηστής. Macedonian κυνοῦπες (=κυνῶπες)· ἄρκτοι,<sup>1</sup> Hesych., exhibits a popular derivation from κύων κυνός. σείσ-οψ is probably the correct reading for Hesychius' σέσσοψ· ποιὸς ἰχθύς, for which Herwerden, s.v., suggests σείσωψ. If δενδροκόλαψ "picus" is the correct reading in Epiph. *Physiol.*, the word must have been changed from \*δενδροκόλαψ (cf. δρυοκόλαψ, δρυοκολάπτης) through the influence of the words in -ωψ, as μόνωψ, Ael., for Paeonian μόναπος surely has. The base of πάρνοψ "locust" appears in Hesychius' gloss, πρᾶνῶ· ἄκρις. The writer has discussed this word with its variants πόρνοψ, κόρνοψ, ὀκορνός, etc., in CP. VII. 235-44. The first element of πηνέλοψ, a kind of duck, is not found by itself, but it seems to recur in the proper name Πηνελεως (cf. Πηνελόπη, Πηνελόπεια; see Solmsen KZ. 42. 232).

Other animal names are ἀνθόλοψ "antelope," Eust. *Hexaem.*, γεργέροψ or γεργέλοψ (cf. γεργέρος· βρόγχος, Hesych.), and μυρτί-

<sup>1</sup> MS, κυνοῦπες· ἄρκτος. Hoffmann, *Maked.* 43, reads κυνοπεύς· ἄρκτος on account of the gloss, κνωπεύς· ἄρκτος· ἔνιοι κνωπεύς. But why is this a better parallel than κνώψ?

λωνψ, Hesych., and the bird names ἔποψ (probably onomatopoeic), ἔροψ (which Fick, KZ. 43. 132, thinks a by-form of ἀέροψ), εἶροψ, μέροψ, and ἀσκαλώπας (cf. ἀσκάλαφος). χηνάλοψ is a modification of χηναλώπηξ.

Next in importance are a few words of pathological import. ὕδρ-ωνψ, Hipp., +, means "the watery disease, dropsy" (= ὕδρεος) or "a watery, dropsical person" (= ὕδερικός). In the latter sense we have also the feminine ὕδρωπά in an Epidaurian inscription. μώλωνψ "weal" is an extension of \*μωσλ- cognate with OB. *mozolǝ* "weal," Russian *mozolǝ* "callus" (Zupitza KZ. 37. 398). ἕλεοψ, a running sore near the eye, *Acta SS.*, appears to be connected with ἕλος, though the development of meaning is not clear. With this should be compared ἕλόπη, vitium in accipitribus, Demetr. Cpol. νόψ "purblind" may be a genuine compound, \*νε-ωνψ "not seeing" (nearly so, Liddell and Scott; cf. Brugmann *Grundriss*<sup>2</sup> 2. 1. 106). For other medical terms that are true compounds of -ωνψ see p. 431. The etymology of κνώψ "blind" is unknown.

With these words came to be associated αἰμάλωνψ, αἰμαλωπίς "mass of blood, a blood-shot place," Ps.-Hipp., +, which is composed of αἷμα + λώψ· χλαμῖς,<sup>1</sup> Hesych., and means properly "blood-coat." A pendant of the latter is ἀγγί-λωνψ "a blood-shot place at the corner of the eye," which Galen incorrectly analyzes as ἀγγι + ὤψ.

-ονψ, -ωνψ functions as a suffix also in the following. Hesychius' δόλοπα· κατάσκοπον, μαστροπόν, and δολῶπις "treacherous," Soph., are derived from δόλος "trick, craft." Their antiquity is shown by the Homeric Δόλοπες. μέλωνψ (or μέλοψ) "bonus cantor," *CGL.*, goes with μέλος. μέσ(σ)ονψ "yoke thong," Hesych., a variant of μέσσαβον, Hes. (see *CP.* V. 341), is derived from μέσος. ὕαλωνψ "vitriarius," Pallad., comes from ὕαλος "amber," later "glass," Hdt., +. θυμάλωνψ, Ar., +, is defined by Suidas as οἱ ἀπολελειμένοι τῆς θύψεως ἄνθρακες ἡμίκαντοι. I propose to read *θυσίας* for the ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, θύψεως, and to connect θυμάλωνψ with θυμέλη "altar." A similar variation between ε and α before λ appears in ἕλος: ὕαλος, μύελος: μύαλος, etc. αἰγίλωνψ "wild oats," Theophr., +, seems to be connected with αἶγιλος, an herb, Theocr., +. Cuny, *IF.* 26. 21 ff.,

<sup>1</sup> This etymology enables us to determine the gender of λώψ as masculine.

shows that *αἰγίλωψ*, a kind of oak, is a compound of *αἰγ-* (cognate with Latin *aesculus*, Eng. *oak*) and a pre-Indo-European word of the Mediterranean region which appears in Latin as *ilex*. Cuny considers Macedonian *ἱλεξ*<sup>1</sup> a Latin loan word; but we must reckon with the possibility that it is the original Greek form, and that *-ίλωψ* has been influenced by the words in *-ωψ*, particularly by *αἰγίλωψ* "wild oats." *κύνωψ*, a plant and a sea-polyp, may originally have been a genuine compound. On *κόλλωψ* see especially Boisacq.

The recognition of the suffix *-οψ*, *-ωψ* relieves us of any need for the time-honored but none the less absurd translation of Hera's epithet *βοῶπις* by "ox-eyed." The word is parallel with *δελφίνιος* and *λυκείος* of Apollo, *ἵππιος* of Poseidon, etc. Hera's sacrifice is regularly a cow just as her consort's victim is a bull. We have still to explain the occurrence of the word in Homer as an epithet of mortal women. Two possibilities suggest themselves. A number of local cow goddesses may have become, for Homer's day and class (cf. Wide in Gercke and Norden's *Einleitung* 2. 191 ff.), ordinary women of the heroic age. From them the epithet may have been extended to others. On the other hand, the whole point of the usage may be the ascription to mortals of the proper epithet of a goddess.

The connection between Athena's epithet *γλαυκῶπις* and her attribute, the night-owl (*γλαῦξ*), has been recognized by many; e.g., Furtwängler in Roscher's *Lexicon* 1. 678; and L. Meyer, *Gr. Etym.* 3. 69, is led by the obvious parallelism with *βοῶπις* to translate "owl-eyed." In Homer *γλαυκῶπις* means "to whom the owl is sacred;" in later Greek, as L. Meyer, *loc. cit.*, has pointed out, the word was associated with the adjective *γλαυκός* quite in the usual modern fashion.

The frequent use of *-οψ*, *-ωψ*, etc., in ethnica of northern Greece has been discussed by Fick *BB.* 26. 238 ff. Several of them, like *Δόλοπες* and *Δρύοπες*, are identical with adjectives already mentioned. The *Ἑλλοπες* lived about Dodona, which was also called *Ἑλλα* and *Ἑλλοπία*; the same people are called in our text of the

<sup>1</sup> Hesych., *ἱλεξ* · ἡ πρῖνος ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Μακεδόνας. Hoffmann, *Maked.* 42, points out that the alphabetic order guarantees this spelling.

*Iliad* (16. 234) Σελλοι, for which Fick plausibly proposes ἀμφι δὲ σ' Ἑλλοι σοὶ ναλοῦσι. Ἑλληνες is a parallel derivative from the same primitive. Ἀλμωπες may be derived from ἄλμα. Δουρίοτες (also a city Δουρίοπος)<sup>1</sup> is dialectic for \*Δωρίοτες : Δωριείς, Δωρίς, etc. Fick mentions Μέροτες beside the bird name and the problematic epithet of the same form, Ἀέροτες beside ἄεροψ, Καριωποί = Καρωποί, and Κασσωποί the most ancient form of which, probably, is preserved in Κάσσωπες, the name of a fort in Macedonia which was repaired by Justinian. To these we should add the mythical Αἰθίοτες, Κέρκωτες, Κύκλωτες, and also Κρῶτες, the old name of the Attic deme Κρωπιά. For ethnica, etc., which are genuine compounds, see p. 432.<sup>2</sup>

No doubt the use of -οψ, -ωψ as a suffix originated in the gradual semantic fading of certain compounds, but as the process lies wholly in the prehistoric period it is impossible to say precisely what words were concerned in the change. It is perhaps worth while to call attention to several Homeric compounds whose prior members do not occur independently in the same form. These words must have been associated on the basis of their final element and a certain similarity of meaning with words like οἶνοψ, μῆλοψ, and ἐλίκωψ; while the obscurity of their prior members must have caused them to be left as simple words rather than as compounds. The first element of (ς)ῆνοψ, an epithet of bronze, is unknown (see Boisacq s.v., and references, and Wood *IF.* 22. 170; Charpentier, *KZ.* 40. 452, fails to account for the initial digamma). Possibly it is to be recognized in ῆνις, an equally obscure epithet of cattle, which may be read either with or without digamma (otherwise Kretschmer *KZ.* 31. 343). νῶροψ, another epithet of bronze, may contain a cognate of Skt. *nīlas* "dark, dark blue" (Benfey *Wurzellex.* 2. 53). \*ῆπεροψ which is to be inferred from ῆπεροπεύς, ῆπεροπεύτης "deceiver" especially "deceiver of women," and ῆπεροπεύω "cajole," is probably

<sup>1</sup> The spelling Δευρ- in Strabo 7. 326 f. and Livy 39. 53 is corrupt if the etymology is correct.

<sup>2</sup> It will perhaps be objected by some that certain of these ethnica as well as several words in the preceding paragraphs are not Greek at all. It has seemed best, however, to include here all words which the Greeks themselves are likely to have associated with the group under discussion; especially as most of the borrowed words have evidently been assimilated in form to those containing inherited -οψ or -ωψ.

This point will be touched upon in a later article in this series.



to be connected with ἡπιος "gentle, kind" (L. Meyer *Gr. Etym.* 1. 609; for other etymologies see Boisacq *s.v.* and references) through an adjective \*ἡπερος.

The existence of a special feminine in -ωψ for words in -οψ or -ωψ undoubtedly stands in some relation, whether of cause or of effect, to the development of the stem into a suffix. At any rate, in historical times, the compounds in -οψ and -ωψ are in this respect sharply differentiated from other consonant-stem compounds such as those in -τρίψ, -πλήξ, and -φύλαξ, and in the same way they are brought nearer to such pairs of suffixes as -ίδης : -ίς and -τωρ, -τήρ : -τρίς.

4. The semantic fading of the later compounds in -ώψ and -ωπός can be traced in some detail. The meaning "having the appearance of the prior member," which we noticed on p. 422, was weakened into "like," as in Eur. *El.* 949:

ἀλλ' ἔμοιγ' εἶη πόσις  
μὴ παρθενωπός, ἀλλὰ τάνδρεϊον τρόπου.

Similarly in Plato *Legg.* 802 E ἀρρενωπός is opposed to θηλυγενής. A further weakening parallel to that seen in Eng. -ly is exhibited by Dion. H. *Comp.* 23: εὐφωνά τε εἶναι βούλεται πάντα τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ λεία καὶ μαλακὰ καὶ παρθενωπά . . . , where the last word means simply "maidenly."<sup>1</sup>

When the prior member is an adjective the compound means no more than the adjective alone. Pindar's (*P.* 1. 13) κελαινώπιν νεφέλαν can be nothing but a black cloud. Empedocles' στερεωπός does not differ from στερεός. κοίλωπός and εὐρωπός, Eur. *I.T.* 263 and 626, are equivalent to κοῖλος and εὐρύς respectively. ἀγριωπὸν ὄμμα, Eur. *H.F.* 990, cannot be distinguished from ἀγριον ὄμμα. Similarly ὄμμα φαιδρωπόν, Eur. *Or.* 894, equals ὄμμα φαιδρόν. Hesychius' φίλωψ . . . φίλος allows no force to the final member of the compound. In Eur. *Or.* 260 f.:

αἱ κυνώπιδες  
γοργῶπες ἐνέρων ἱερίαι, δειναὶ θεαί,

<sup>1</sup> The rendering of such words in their full etymological value has long been a favorite device of translators for securing the vivid colors of our more florid modern style. Thus Roberts (p. 235) translates the above "words . . . soft as a maiden's face," and even (p. vii) "words soft as a maiden's cheek"!



κυνώπιδες and γοργῶπες must be parallel, but we can hardly make both of them refer to the eyes; the former means "dog-like, shameless," and the latter "grim."<sup>1</sup> In later writers we have ἀργωπός (of ivy), σκολιωπός, αἰθρωπός, ξανθωπός, γογγυλωπός, μελανωπός.

The other meanings, too, sometimes merge in this colorless sense. σκυθρωπός is properly "sullen-faced," but it came to mean no more than σκυθρός which it finally supplanted. τυφλώψ, Nic., properly means "blind-eyed," but that amounts to no more than "blind." Similarly ἀλαώψ, Synes., is equivalent to ἀλαός; and, 1st as ἀλαός means "dark" in Ap. Rh. 2. 259, so ἀλαῶπις, Emped. 49 Diels, and ἀλαωπός, Nonn. *Jo.* 9.14, have that meaning. ἀλ(α)ώψ appears as the second member of νυκτάλωψ, Ps.-Hipp., +, which Galen, *Lex. Hipp.*, defines as "ὁ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀλαός." For the form compare ἀμβλωπός beside ἀμβλωπός. A similar loss of a final vowel appears in Hesychius' ἄζωπες· αἱ ξηραὶ ἐκ τῆς θεωρίας, if this contains ἄζωος. Euripides' (*H.F.* 111) δόκημα νυκτερωπὸν ὀνείρων is strikingly similar to Aeschylus' (*Pers.* 176) νυκτέροις ὀνείρασιν. ἀντωπός and ἀντῶπις probably meant in the first place "looking directly opposite" (cf. ἀπέρωπος, πανεπώπης [?], and especially the verb ἀντωπέω). They came, however, to be merely equal to ἀντίος as in Eur. *I.A.* 584, ἐν ἀντωποῖς βλεφάροισιν. Similarly κατωπός is cited from the Hippiatrica not only in its full value, κατωπὸς δὲ γίνεταί καὶ λελυπημένος, but also in a weaker use, ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχουσιν ὑποδεδυκότας καὶ κατωπούς.

The second member of the compounds discussed in the last three paragraphs has a force similar to that of adjective-forming suffixes like -ικός. That they were sometimes felt as suffixes is indicated by the persistence of feminines in -ωπις and the occasional use of feminines in -η. χαροπός is regularly declined with three terminations. We have besides δεινωπή, Hes., σκυθρωπή, Hipp., Ephor., Plut., οἰνωπή, Ps.-Hipp., +, ἀρρενωπή, Luc., and στενωπή, Tzet.<sup>2</sup> ὕδρωπά, *IG.* 4. 952, indicates a dialectic adjective of three terminations equivalent to Attic-Ionic ὕδρωψ "dropsical." It is likely that

<sup>1</sup> The full etymological force of the compound is retained in Hesychius' γοργώψατο· πικρὸν ἔβλεψε and ἐ(γ)γοργώψατο· γοργὸν καὶ φοβερὸν ἔβλεψεν.

<sup>2</sup> Lobeck, *Phryn.* 105 f., noted the unusual frequency of feminines in -ῆ from compounds in -ωπός, but did not see the significance of the phenomenon.

many other feminines in *-ή* from adjectives in *-ωπός* have been "corrected" out of our texts.

It is in accentuation that the words in *-ωψ* and *-ωπος* differ most widely from other compounds. Although most of them must be classed as possessives, nearly all are oxytone. The two groups must be considered separately.

Herodian's rule for *-ωπος* is as follows (1. 188. 3 ff. L.):

"Ἐτι τὰ ἐπιθετικά σύνθετα τῷ ω παραληγόμενα ὀξύνεται αἵματωπός, κελαινωπός, πολυωπός, εὐωπός, τηλωπός, χαρωπός, μελανωπός, πελιωπός.

Of special significance is *πολυωπός*, because it is opposed not only to the usual recessive accent of possessives but also to the tendency of *πολυ-* in compounds to receive the accent whatever the meaning of the compound (see Herodian 1.233 L.). If this word was oxytone it is safe to assume that accent for nearly all compounds in *-ωπός* in the classical period.

That the accent did not originally fall upon the final syllable in all compounds in *-ωπο-* is indicated by the few recorded exceptions and by the analogy of the compounds in *-ωψ*. *μέτωπον* and *πρόσωπον* were firmly established before the tendency to oxytonesis began. The recessive accent of *ἀπέρωπος* as well as the apocope may be dialectic. Aeschylus' *ἀμφίωπος* and *περίωπος*, Hesychius' definition of it, may have been too remote in meaning from the other compounds to share their change of accent. The two other prepositional compounds in *-ωπος*, *ἀντωπός* and *κατωπός*, were much closer to the type (see p. 429).

Of the words in *-ωψ*, Herodian says (1. 247. 20 ff. L.):

Τὰ μέντοι ἐπιθετικά ὀξύνεται ὑπεσταλμένων τῶν ὑποπεπτωκότων κυρίους ἢ τῶν ἰδιαζόντων· μονῶψ ὁ μονόφθαλμος, κελαινώψ, τυφλώψ, γλαυκώψ "γλαυκώπες δράκοντες," εὐώψ "εὐῶπα παρειάν" παρὰ Σοφοκλεί, "εὐώπες" παρὰ Λυκόφρονι, παραβλώψ "παραβλῶπές τ' ὀφθαλμῶ." τὸ δὲ ἐλίκωψ καὶ ὁ μύωψ ὁ μῦνος ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχων καὶ νυκτάλωψ βαρύνεται, ὥσπερ τὸ Κύκλωψ καὶ κέρκωψ ὁ δόλιος καὶ ἰώψ ὁ ἰχθύς.

*ἐλίκωψ* and *κέρκωψ* are earlier than the tendency to oxytonesis. The same may be true of *κώνωψ*, which was no longer felt to belong to the group after the primitive *κῶνος* lost the meaning "sting."

The medical terms *ὑδρωψ*, *μάλωψ*, *ὑέλωψ*, *αἰμάλωψ*, *ἀγχίλωψ*, *νυκτάλωψ*, *ἡμεράλωψ*, *μύωψ*, *ἀμύδρωψ* may indicate that Ionic did not agree with Attic in this respect. *ὑάλωψ*, in Palladius' scholia on Hippocrates, points in the same direction. A number of other exceptions are traditional.

The change in accent falls before the classical period,<sup>1</sup> at about the same time that *-ωψ* and *-ωπος* gained the meaning "appearing like," which in Homer belonged solely to *-οψ*. It is likely, then, that the fixing of the accent was due to some group or groups of oxytones with this meaning. As long as the words in *-ωψ* and *-ωπος* were felt as compounds they were likely to be influenced by the compounds in *-ειδής* (cf. *εὐώψ*, *εὐωπός* : *εὐειδής*, *πυρωπός* : *πυρειδής*, *αἱματωπός* : *αἱματειδής*, etc.). The adjectives in *-ικός* (e.g., *ἄρρενικός* : *ἄρρενωπός*, *χιονικός* : *χιονωπός*) would have more and more influence as the words in *-ωψ* and *-ωπος* drew away from the other compounds and as their meaning became more vague. Identity of termination may have given the words of the type of *ἄλλοδαπός* and *ποδαπός* some influence upon the compounds in *-ωπος*.

As the meaning of the word-finals *-ώψ* and *-ωπός* faded it was often necessary to use more explicit elements in their place, and these tended to usurp the whole field. In the meaning "face," compounds in *-πρόσωπος* begin to encroach upon those in *-ωπός* as early as the sixth century (*εὐπρόσωπος*, Simon.), and with Pindar and Aeschylus the earlier type ceases to be productive except in the weaker meaning "appearing like, like." Similarly, the meaning "eye" came to be expressed by the more explicit words *-οφθαλμός* (*μονόφθαλμος*, Hdt., *μελανόφθαλμος*, Hipp.) or by *-όμματος* (*μονόμματος*, Aesch., *μελανόμματος*, Plat.).

For the moment *-ώψ* and *-ωπός*, now little else than adjective-forming suffixes, seem to have been more productive than at any other time. On this point, however, our record is probably misleading. The very fact that *-ώψ* and *-ωπός* are such favorites with the tragedians is evidence that they were already a trifle archaic. Aristophanes gives us the other side of the picture: the only word of the class which appears first in his writings is *μορμωρός*, an imitative epithet of Aeschylean *ρήματα βόεια*.

<sup>1</sup> Of course we cannot be sure enough of the traditional accent of *τετατωπός*, *h. Hom.*, and *δειωπός*, *Hes.*, to make them the basis of a more exact chronology.

After the classical period words in *-ωψ* and *-ωπος* as well as those in *-οψ* *-οπος* are almost wholly confined to proper names and to poetry. Only a few well-established forms like *χαροπός* and *σκυθρωπός*, and *στενωπός* in the sense of "angustiae" continued in general use. *οινόπη*, the name of a variety of grape, Pollux, and *μαλώπη*,<sup>1</sup> the name of a variety of mallow, Pliny, were probably intended to be unusual formations (cf. our advertizing names *Wheatena*, *Malta Vita*, *Rolled Avena*). Other words, too, when occurring in late prose are archaistic; e.g., *ἐγχελυωπός*, Luc., *ἄρρενωπός*, Procop. *Hist. Arc.* 4.

5. Many of the ethnica and place names in *-οψ*, *-οπος*, *-οπη*, *-ωψ*, *-ωπος* are genuine compounds; e.g., *Οἰνώπες*, *Νώροπες*, a Paeonian people, *Κοιλωποί* (so named from their country \**Κοιλωπός*, cf. *Κοίλη*, an Attic deme, etc.; see Fick *BB.* 26. 240), *Νησώπη*, an island near Lesbos. Others are merely special uses of adjectives or common nouns, as *Μέτωπον*, the name of several promontories, *Ἐπώπη*, an early name of Acrocorinth, and *Κωνόπα*, a swamp and a town in Aetolia. *Διόπη* and *Ἐνόπη*, in Arcadia and Messenia respectively, probably contain *ὀπή* "hole," as do the corresponding common nouns. (For the suffix *-οψ*, *-ωψ* in ethnica, see pp. 426 f.). If *Ἵρωπός* and *Εὐρωπός* are pre-Greek names as Fick thinks (*Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* 21, 111), they have been hellenized, the former in part, the latter thoroughly.

The personal names<sup>2</sup> stand in close relation to the place names; e.g., *Δόλοψ* : *Δόλοπες*, *Οἶνοψ* and *Οἰνώπας* : *Οἰνώπες*. On the other hand they have many points of contact with the true compounds as *Δεινώπας* : *δεινώψ* "fierce-eyed" and *Εὐώπης*, *Εὐωπος*, *Εὐώπη* : *εὐώπης* "fair of face," and with the obscured compounds as *Μελάνωπος*, *Μελανώπη* : *μελανωπός*. It is impossible in many cases to distinguish between the several types. A large proportion, but by no means all of them, belong primarily to mythology.

Most of the personal names are so clear that they need not be cited. *Θίοψ* is probably parallel with *Θεόπη* rather than a nickname for *Θεόπομπος* or the like, as Fick-Bechtel, 144, imply. *Κοθώπα* is connected with *κοθώ· βλάβη*, Hesych., and the prior member of *κόθουρος* "dock-tailed." Fick-Bechtel, 162, derive *Κινώπη* from

<sup>1</sup> Lewis and Short write *malōpe*; but Ps.-Apul. has *ωπεν*.

<sup>2</sup> See Fick-Bechtel, pp. 404, 420, 460, 294.

κινέω. Αἴσωπος was originally equivalent to αἴσιος "auspicious." Μόψονψ and Μόψοπος seem to be extensions of Μόψος.

Letronne, *Rev. Arch.* 2. 485 f., considered Κλεόπας, New Testament, Luke 24. 18, a shortened form of Κλεόπατρος, and tried to fix its declension by his conjecture, Κλεοπάτορ (Κ.ΕΟΠΑΤΟC Gau, ΚΑCΟΠΑΤΟC Lenormant), in *CIG.* 4934, an inscription of Philes in Egypt. There is no evidence that the epigraphical form has any connection with our Judaeo-Christian name, and it seems more natural to make the latter parallel with the other proper names in -όπας. Cf. the variants Κλεώπας and Κλέοπος(?). Πηνελόπη is to be connected with πηνέλ-ονψ, a kind of duck, and with Πηνέλ-εως (see p. 424).

Νιόβη for Νιόβη, on an Attic vase, is due to the influence of the names in -όπη (Meisterhans<sup>3</sup> 77. 3). Πέλοψ and Κέκροψ are obscure. The latter at least is probably not Greek (Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* 130).

One is tempted to recognize ὄψ "voice" as the final member of Καλλιόπη, the name of a Muse, Ἰμερόπη, the name of a Siren (but Ἀγλαόπη, the name of another Siren, evidently belongs to the prevailing type), and Κρότωπος (if this contains κρότος). Since, however, ὄψ "voice" occurs with certainty in very few compounds, it is safer to assume in personal names only the root -οπ- "see." Fick-Bechtel find cases not only of ὄψ "voice" but also of ὀπή "hole" and of ἔπω, but there is no need of doing so, except for a single word. Βορβορόπη, Hipponax' epithet of a courtesan, is ostensibly fashioned after the personal names in -όπη, but it contains an obscene pun upon ὀπή.

6. A few remarks may be added on the other words in -πη, -πος, etc. In the great majority of those which make up our lists π is obviously a part of the root. Whether it represents original *p* or a labial-velar *qʷ* or has arisen in other ways (e.g., by metathesis in σκέπτομαι : Lat. *specio*) does not concern us here. On the interchange of π with β and φ, cf. *CP.* VI. 208 ff.

The compounds in -κόπος were discussed by the writer in *CP.* III. 436 ff.<sup>1</sup> It should have been noted there (p. 438) that Kaibel

<sup>1</sup> The conjecture *Matyocopi* in Ammianus Marcellinus 15. 5. 4, which was there supported, has now been adopted by Clark at the suggestion of Horaeus.

emends *Δημόκοπος* (Sophron 128) to *δημοκόπος*, and thus makes the latter word four hundred years older than its earliest recorded occurrence (Dion. H. 5. 65). For that would make *δημοκόπος* the earliest word of its type, instead of *πορνοκόπος* (Menander) as the writer assumed. The emendation, however, contradicts the explicit testimony of Eustathius, 1112. 12, the only authority for the fragment, and, in fact, destroys the point of his remark. Eustathius is explaining that the nickname *Μύριλλα* was given to a certain *Δημόκοπος* on account of a distribution of *μύρον*; whereas Kaibel would make *Μύριλλα* an ordinary personal name. It is true that there is no other personal name in *-κοπος*, but a less violent emendation would be *Δημόδοκος*. If that is what Sophron wrote, the change to *Δημόκοπος* was probably made by someone who noticed that the act described was characteristic of a *δημοκόπος*.

*ἵππος* is from I. = E. \**ekmo-s* (Lat. *equos*, Skt. *áśvas*) and contained a suffix *-μο-*, but it had long since lost all connection with other words formed with this suffix. The especial frequency of *ἵππος* in personal names, as of its cognates in Indic and Iranian names, is well known; the full extent of this, so far as the word constitutes the second element, is shown by our lists. They contain (including several names of doubtful authenticity which are marked [?]) in the lists) 67 names in *-πιπη* (*-ιππα*) and 221 in *-ιππος*. The total number of different names, exclusive of feminines for which the corresponding masculines are quotable (e.g., *Μενίπιπη* beside *Μένιππος*), is 236, while the corresponding total in Fick-Bechtel is 158.

Our lists contain the following metaplastic compounds of the stem *ποδ-* "foot": *τρίπος*, *τετράπος*, *ἀελλόπος*, *ἀρτίπος*, *μικρόπος*, *ᾠκύπος*, *Μελάμπος*, *Οἰδίπος*, *σάραπον* (?).<sup>1</sup> The *o*-stem is due to proportional analogy from the nominative *-πός* (from *-ποδ-s*, with *-ποδ-* from the oblique cases; cf. Sommer, *Griech. Lautstudien* 17). But only secondary connection with *ποδ-*, due to popular etymology, is to be seen in *νήλιπος* "bare-foot" (*νηλίπους*, Soph., +) from *νε+* *ἡλιψ*, a kind of shoe, and probably in *πούλυπος*, *πώλυπος*, *πουλύπους*, *πολύπους* beside *πώλυψ* (cf. Ahrens *Gr. Dial.* 2. 167 ff., Hoffmann *Gr. Dial.* 3. 421).

<sup>1</sup> On the accent see Herodian 1. 188. 23 ff., 2. 66. 37 f. L. *Μελάμπος* in Pind. *Paeon* 4. 28 is thus accented in the papyrus. Aeolic *σάραπον* must of course have had recessive accent.



There is no sufficient evidence of an Indo-European suffix *-po-* or *-q<sup>h</sup>o*, such as would yield Greek *-πο-*. Cf. Brugmann *Grundriss*<sup>2</sup> 2. 1. 386, 474 ff. Certain Greek words have the appearance of containing a *π*-suffix, but they are too few and doubtful to establish the existence of such, and are probably to be explained otherwise.

φῶψ· φάος, Hesych., contains a root increment seen also in *παιφάσσω*, Lat. *faz, facula*, Lith. *žvākė* "light," etc. (cf. Walde *s.v. facies*). κῶληψ : κωλή, κῶλον, etc., is formed with *-ηπ-* : Lat. *apis*, according to Boisacq *s.v. κῶλον* (but?). *τολύπη* "clew of carded wool" was plausibly connected by Fick, *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1894. 247, with *τυλίσσω* "twist, roll up," *τύλος* "knot," etc. The second element seems to reappear in *οἰσύπη* "fatty dirt extracted from wool" and *οἰσυνίς* "tuft of greasy wool." The source of this *-υπη*, *-υπ* is not clear but it is probably a stem rather than a suffix.

*μαστροπός* beside *μαστρο-φός* : *μαστήρ* shows the influence of compounds in *-τροπος* (see CP. VI. 206). *λίσπος* beside *λίσ-φος* : *λίσσός* has been assimilated to *λιπαρός*, etc. (see CP. VI. 202). *Ἄλθηπος*, the name of a mythical king of Troizen, beside *Ἄλθη-φος* or *Ἄλθη-φον*, a district in Troizenia (cf. CP. VI. 205 f.) shows dissimilation of aspirates. *χαλεπός* : OB. *zūlū* "bad," etc., may come from *\*χαλε-φος* (Prellwitz *s.v.*) by the same process. No doubt the ambiguous verb-forms *χαλέπτω*, *χαλέψω*, *χαλεφθείς*, etc., contributed to the change (cf. *κάπη* : *ἐγκαφος* beside *ἐγκάπτω*, on which see CP. VI. 210).

*σάρπους*. *κιβωτούς*. *Βιθυνοί δὲ ξυλίνους οἰκίας*, Hesych., is probably not a Greek word, and so Prellwitz' comparison with *σαρ-γάνη* and *σορ-ός* should be rejected. *ἀστραπή*, *ἀστράπτω*, etc., have often been connected with *ἄστήρ*, *ἄστρον* (see Boisacq *s.v. ἀστραπή*), but the etymology is not convincing.

The source of the *π* in the following words is still obscure. *τάρπη*, *ταρπός*, *ταρπάνη* "wicker-basket" seems related to *ταρσός* "crate, basket." *ἀγαπάω*, Hom., +, from which *ἀγάπη* LXX, +, is a back formation, is perhaps connected with *ἄγαμαι*, *ἀγανός*, but Prellwitz' comparison of the final element with Skt. *pā-* "protect" is not convincing. *πόρπη* "brooch" cannot be separated from *πείρω* "pierce." Is it formed after the analogy of some congeneric word with radical *π* (*ἐνόπη* "earring" is hardly an adequate source)?



WORD-LISTS<sup>1</sup>

## WORDS IN -πη OR -πᾶ

- ἀγάπη, LXX, +[VII. 435.  
 Ἀγάπη, P.  
 †ψευδο-, Wagner Carmina Graeca  
 Med. Aev. 141. 6.  
 αὐτο-, Jo. Mon., + (Th.).  
 Παντ-, IG. 14. 826. 35.  
 αὐτ-, Theod. Prodr. (Th.).  
 ἀζάπα, Hesych.  
 θάπα, Hesych.  
 κάπη, Hom., + [VI. 210.  
 Κάπαι, P.  
 πανσι-κάπη, Ar. fr. 310 Bl., +  
 βου-κάπη, Herodian 1. 304. 18 L.,  
 Hesych.  
 λάπη, Diphil. 4. 381 Mein., +  
 †?ἀλάπη, CGL. 2. 151. 24; cf. Klein  
 Rh. M. 24. 297.  
 νάπη, Hom., +  
 Νάπη, P.  
 Σανάπη, P.  
 Εὐ-νάπη, P.  
 ἀπάπη, Theophr. H. P. 7. 7. 1, etc.  
 †ἐν-τραπή, Theod. Prodr. (Th.).  
 ἀστραπή, Aesch., +[VII. 435.  
 †Ἀστραπή, Schol. Eur. Phoen. 3,  
 Plin. 35. 96.  
 †ἀστραπή=ἀστράβη, Anon. Walz  
 Rhett. 8. 668 [VI. 208.  
 Φάπη, P.  
 σκέπη, Hdt., +  
 Κατα-, P.  
 ὑπο-, Steph. Mon. Act. 88. Mart.  
 3. 6\* F.  
 ῥηπαί, Ps.-Didym. ad Il. 4. 254.  
 σήπη, LXX (with vv. ll.), Aq.  
 (Hatch and Redp.), +  
 †λίπη, sign. inc., Schol. Procl. in  
 Plat. Tim. 1. 462. 14 Diels.  
 ἐν-ιπή, Hom., +  
 †ἡμ-κοίπη, Inscr. Comptes rendus  
 de l'Acad. des Inscr. 1866. 384.  
 [VI. 211.  
 ῥιπή, Hom., +[VI. 210.  
 ῥίπη, P.  
 ῥίπαι, P.  
 †?βαρίπη, Plin. 37. 150 (with vv.  
 ll.).  
 †Ἀλπά, SGDI. 2580. 46.  
 κάπη "gallop," Plut., +  
 κάπη "cinerary urn," LXX 4  
 Macc. 3. 12 (v. l. κάπιν), Plut.  
 Marcell. 30 (v. l. κάπιν), Hdn.  
 3. 15, 16, etc.<sup>2</sup>  
 Κάπη, P.  
 σάπη, Epich. 63 Kaib., +  
 Σάπη, P.  
 †Ἐλη, Jo. Malal. Chron. 117  
 Dind., +  
 †Στίλπα, IG. 14. 668 I 8.  
 Στίλπαι, P.  
 ὀλη, Ion 10 p. 734 Nauck, Achaeus  
 19 p. 751 Nauck, +  
 ὀλα· ἡ ἐλπίς, Hesych.  
 Ὀλη (also Ὀλπαι), P.  
 δόλπαι, Hesych.  
 μολπή, Hom., +  
 Μόλπη, P.  
 Εὐ-μόλπη, P.

<sup>1</sup> For the method of arrangement, the meaning of abbreviations, etc., see footnote in CP. V. 343 f. The only important deviation from the practice there described is the addition of references to the discussion of labial stems in CP. V. 326-42, VI. 197-215, VII. 420-35. These references follow the citations of Greek authors and are set off by the sign †, e.g., κάπη, Hom., +[VI. 210.

<sup>2</sup> That this, not κάλπις, was the regular form in the κοινή is shown also by Mod. Gk. κάπη "ballot-box," κάλπαι "election."

- καμπή "a bending," Aesch. fr. 30  
Nauck, +  
κάμπη "caterpillar," Ps.-Hipp. 21.  
471 Kühn, Arist., +  
κάμπη κῆτος, Epich. 194 Kaib., +  
Κάμπη, P.  
-καμπή  
ἀνα-, Heron Al. 196. 20, 23 Schöne.  
συν-, Xen. Eq. 1. 8, +  
ἐπι-, Hdt., +  
περι-, Hipp. Art. 2. 175 Kühlew.  
σκοληκο-κάμπη, Eucholog. (Th.).  
Ἰππο-κάμπη, P.  
πιτυο-κάμπη, Plin. 23. 62, Diosc., +  
λάμπη, *primae diei horae nomen ap.*  
*Aegyptios* (Th. Add. vol. 5).  
λάμπη = λάπη, Aesch., +  
Λάμπη (also Λάπ(π)η), P.  
Τράμπη, P.  
ὄμπη, Call. fr. 123, 268 Schneid.  
† πολυ-κόμπη, late Byz. (Du Cange).  
πομπή, Hom., +  
Πόμπη,<sup>1</sup> P.  
-πομπή  
δια-, Thuc., +  
ἀνα-, Polyb., +  
παρα-, Xen., +  
κατα-, African., +  
μετα-, Ps.-Plat. Ep., +  
ἐπι-, Poeta de Herb.  
περι-, Schol. Aesch.  
ἐκ-, Thuc., +  
† συμ-, Ditt. Inser. Gr. Or. 309. 11.  
† Θεοπόμπη, IG. 2. 763 I 12.  
ἀπο-, Isocr., +  
προ-, Xen., +  
πετρο-, VV. LL. (Th.).  
εἰς-, Simoc.  
Εὐπόμπη, P.  
Ολύμπη, P.  
ὀπή, Ar., + [VII. 422.  
-όπη  
Ἄγλα-, P.  
Ῥοδ-, P.  
καρδόπη = ἡ κάρδοπος, Ar. Nub. 678.  
Θε-όπη, P. [VII. 432.  
† Θε-, place name, Act. SS. Mai  
2. LIV D.  
Ἴ-, P.  
Ἄργι-, P.  
δι-, Ar. fr. 330 Bl.  
Δι-, P. [VII. 432.  
Δη-, P.  
Χαλκι-, P.  
Ταβλι-, P.  
Ἥλι-, P.  
Καλλι-, P. [VII. 433.  
† Νιόπη, Meisterh.<sup>3</sup> 77. 3 [VII. 433.  
Ἄγρι-όπη, P.  
Λεωρι-, P.  
Κασσι-, P.  
Ἄντι-, P.  
κοπή, Ps.-Arist., +  
δια-, Hipp. 2. 9. 12 Kühlew., +  
ἀνα-, Epicur. p. 7 Usener., +  
ἀντανα-, Ps.-Arist.  
παρα-, Aesch., +  
κατα-, Theophr., +  
ἐγ-, IG. 4. 1484. 292, Bion Borysth.  
ap. Diog. L. 4. 50, +  
συν-, Dion. H., +  
ἐπι-, IG. 4. 1484. 235, Theophr., +  
περι-, Thuc., +  
ἀντι-, Strabo, +  
ἐκ-, Polyb., +  
παρεκ-, Ps.-Galen 14. 438. 10 Kühn.  
† ὠμο-κόπη, Georg. Sanguinatus de  
Part. Corp. Hum. 17 Darem-  
berg.  
ἀπο-, Aesch., +  
προ-, Bion Borysth., +  
† χορτο-, pap. Tebt. 337. 21.  
σκοπή, Aesch., +  
Σκόπη, P.

<sup>1</sup> For the accent, see Herodian 1. 338. 26.

## -σκοπή

ἀνα-, Timon 61. 1 Diels.

κατα-, Soph., +

ἐπι-, LXX, +

ἀρχιεπι-, Epiphan. 3. 131. 2 Dind.,

+

† πτωχοεπι-, Basil. (Koum.).

περι-, Simoc. 7. 12. 3.

προ-, Thuc., +

προσ-κοπή, Polyb., +

ἄλ-όπη, P.

Πηνελ-όπη, P. [VII. 424, 433.

ἑλ-όπη, Demetr. Cpol. (Du Cange)

[VII. 425.

κλοπή, Aesch., +

## -όπη

Παν-, P.

Φαν-, P.

ἐν-, Soph. fr. 51 Nauck.

ἔν-, P. [VII. 432.

ἐν-όπη (: ἐνέπω), Hom., +

Παρθεν-όπη, P.

οἶν-, Poll. 6. 82 [VII. 432.

ρόπη, Aesch., +

ῥόπη, P.

Χαρ-όπη, P.

Ἄερ-, P.

Μερ-, P.

Ἰμερ-, P. [VII. 433.

Παμμερ-, P.

στερ-όπη, Hom., + [VII. 423.

Στερ-, P.

ἀστερ-όπη, Hom., + [VII. 423.

Ἄστερ-όπη, P.

Ὀρ-, P.

βορβορ-, Hipponax 110 Bgk.<sup>4</sup>

[VII. 433.

Κορ-, P.

ισορ-ροπή, Greg. Nyss. (Th.).

τροπή, Hom., +

δια-, Polyb., pap. Tebt. 1. 27.

104, +

ἀνα-, Aesch., +

παρα-, Eur., +

κατα-, Terpander ap. Poll. 4. 66, +

μετακατα-, id. ib.

μετα-, Eur., +

Καλλιτρόπη, P.

ἐπι-, Thuc., +

? Ἐπι-, IG. 2. 1838.

περι-, Semon., +

Ἄμφι-, P.

ἐκ-, Aesch., +

παρεκ-, Ps.-Dem. Phal. 84, +

ἐν-, Soph., +

ἀπο-, Aesch., +

ὑπο-, Plut., +

προ-, Democr. 181 Diels, +

† στροπά· ἀστραπή. Πάφιοι, Hesych.

προσ-τροπή, Aesch., +

περικατω-, Philodem. (L. and S.)

μετ-όπη, Vitruv., +

†? Κλυτ- (or Κλυτίπη; MS.

κλύτοπος), Apollod. 2. 7. 8. 2.

Δρυ-, P.

Εὔρυ-, P.

Ἄπη, P.

Λάπ(π)η (= Λάμπη), P.

Ἰωτάπ(π)η, P.

Ἰπη, P.

## -ίπη

? Λαβίπα, SGDI. 4585 a 5.

† Ναβίπα, SGDI. 4583 Nachtr.

† Γοργ-, SGDI. 4603.

† Φειδ-, IG. 2. 836. 17. 32.

Μελφιδ-, P.

Ῥοδ-, P.

Κυδ- (Boeotian Κουδ-), P.

† Ζουδ-, IG. 7. 3530.

† Ἀγῆλίσπα (= Ἥγησ-), IG. 4. 571.

Ἀγαθ-, P.

Ἀνθ-, P.

Ξανθ-, P.

Κενθ-, P.

Νικ-, P.

Ἄλκ-, P.

Ἄρκ- (or Ἀρχ-?), IG. 4. 734; P.

Γλαυκ-, P.

-ίπη

- Λευκ-, P.  
 Μεναλ-, P.  
 †Έθελ-, IG. 7. 3498. 52.  
 Φιλ-, P.  
 Καλλ-, P.  
 ? Λαμ- (or Δημ<sup>1</sup>), P.  
 Έρμ-, P.  
 † Χρωμ-, IG. 7. 1505.  
 Αν-, P.  
 'Αγαν-, P.  
 Μελαν-, P.  
 Μεν-, P.  
 Κλην- (= \*Κλειν-), P.  
 † Αίν-, SGDI. 3140 a.  
 Φαιν-, P.  
 † 'Αναξ-, Ditt. Inscr. Gr. Or. 1. 264. 10.  
 Δεξ-, P.  
 'Αλεξ-, P.  
 Εὐξ-, P.  
 Ζευξ-, P.  
 Διωξ-, P.  
 † Χαρ-, IG. 2. 758 B I 11, 1776.  
 'Υπερ-, P.  
 'Ηρ-, P.  
 † Χαιρ-, IG. 2. 754. 9, etc.  
 Θαρρ-, IG. 2. 4257.  
 † 'Ορρ- (= \*'Ορσ-), IG. 7. 2313.  
 Εύρ-, P.  
 Πυρ-, P.  
 Δωρ-, P.  
 Δαμασ-, P.  
 † Έρασ-, IG. 4. 952. 122.  
 † Θρασ-, IG. 2. 3533.  
 Τελεσ-, P.  
 'Ηγης- (also 'Αγεις-), P.  
 Αίνης-, P.  
 Μνήης-, P.  
 † Τις-, IG. 2. 2714.  
 'Αρσ-, P.  
 † ? Θερσ-, Ditt. Inscr. Gr. Or. 264. 13.

- Λυσ-, P.  
 Χρυσ-, P.  
 † Σωσ-, IG. 2. 836. 89, etc.  
 † Στρατ-, SGDI. 4578. 2.  
 † Χητ-, IG. 7. 2835.  
 † Αντ-, IG. 7. 3272.  
 † 'Αριστ-, IG. 2. 983 I 5, etc.  
 ? Κλυτ- (or Κλυτόπη; MS. κλύτοπ-  
 πος), Apollod. 2. 7. 8. 2; P.  
 Εὐ-, P.  
 Πολυ-, P.  
 'Αρχ-, P.  
 † 'Ορυκόππα, SGDI. 5024 A 24.  
 † ποππά (Cretan for πομπή), SGDI. 5075. 32.  
 † Λούππα, Justinian ap. Chron. Pasch. 627 Dind.  
 δρύππα, Plin. 12. 130, +  
 στύππη, Varro ap. Gell. 17. 3. 4, +  
 ἄρπη "kite," Hom., +  
 ἄρπη "sickle," Hes., +  
 'Αρπη, P.  
 δάρπη, Hesych.  
 † Εὐ-κάρπη, IG. 14. 826. 15.  
 Μάρπη, P.  
 σάρπη, v. l. in Arist. H. A. 6. 8. 534  
 a 9, Schol. Vat. in Artem Dion.  
 Thrac. 195. 22 Hilg.  
 τάρπη, Poll., Hesych., + [VII. 435.  
 Εὐ-τέρπη, P.  
 ὄρπα, Hesych.  
 \*'Ορπα, P.  
 ἀγγ-όρπη (MS. -όπης), Hesych.  
 πόρπη, Hom., + [VII. 435.  
 † στορπά = ἀστραπή (Arcadian),  
 Hesych.  
 'Ενίσπη, P.  
 οἰσπη, Hdt. 4. 187 (v. l. οἰσύνπη).  
 γύπη, Herodian 1. 338. 9 L., +  
 Κορδύπη (Boeotian Κορδούπα), P.  
 κύνπη, Herodian 1. 338. 9 L.

<sup>1</sup> Pherecydes ap. schol. Eur. Phoen. Schwartz emends to Δαμακίπη. Δημίπηνη seems preferable; cf. Δάμπεπος.

- Κύπη, P.  
 ?ἐγ-κύπη, Heliodor. ap. Oribas. (Th.).  
 λύπη, Aesch., +  
 στελύπη, Hesych.  
 -λύπη  
 Πανσι-, P.  
 χαρμο-, Jo. Climac. 804 B Migne.  
 τολύπη, Soph. fr. 997 Nauck, + [VII.  
 435.  
 ? ἐκνύπη, Galen Lex. Hipp.  
 \*Ρύπαι, P.  
 \*Αρύπη, P.  
 γρύπαι· αἱ νεοσσαι τῶν γυπῶν· οἱ δὲ  
 γύπαι, Hesych.  
 τρύπη (also τρύπα), Hesych. s.v.  
 παραπλασμός, +  
 οἰσύπη, Ps.-Hipp. 22. 860 Kühn, +  
 [VII. 435.  
 τυπή, Hom., +  
 -τύπη  
 λα-, IG. 2. 834 c II 64, 71=Ditt.  
 Syll. 587. 200, 207, SGDI. 2502.  
 106, Strabo, +  
 χαμαι-, Timocl. 3. 607 Mein., +  
 ποδο-κτύπη, Luc.  
 ἐν-τύπη, CGL. 2. 246. 18.  
 στερνο-, Hesych. s.v. στερναία.  
 μοιχο-, Hesych.  
 ὠπή, Ap. Rh., +  
 † Κοθ-ῶπα, IG. 7. 1157 [VII. 432.  
 \*Ερι-ῶπη, P.  
 περι-ωπή, Hom., + [VII. 422.  
 σιωπή, Hom., +  
 Σιωπή, P.  
 κώπη, Hom., +  
 Κῶπαι, P.  
 ἰστιο-κώπη, Poll. 1. 103.
- ῶπη  
 κερκ-, Ar. fr. 40 Bl., + [VII. 424.  
 Κερκ-, P.  
 Λυκ-, P.  
 λώπη, Hom., +  
 ? ἄλωπά· ἡ ἄλώπηξ, Hesych.  
 Καλ-ῶπα, P.  
 † ? ἀσκαλώπη, CGL. 3. 319. 24.  
 † μαλ-ῶπη, Plin. 20. 222 [VII. 432.  
 Μελαν-ῶπη, P.  
 ἐν-ωπή (due to Homeric ἐν ὠπῇ  
 "palam"), Nic. Th. 227.  
 Κιν-ῶπη, P. [VII. 432.  
 Σινῶπη, P.  
 Κων-ῶπα, P. [VII. 432.  
 ? πῶπαι· φοραί. Δωριεῖς, Hesych.  
 ἐπ-ωπή, Aesch.  
 \*Επ-ῶπη, P. [VII. 432.  
 ὀπωπή, Hom., +  
 ? ἀναστρ-ωπή, Plat.  
 † Ταυρ-ῶπα, IG. 14. 255.  
 Εὐρ-ῶπη, P.  
 Μυρ-ῶπη, P.  
 † σωπή (= σιωπή), Call. in pap. Oxy.  
 7. 1011. 102, 255.  
 † Σωπή, Emped. 123. 3 Diels.  
 ἐσ-ωπή, Opp.  
 Νησ-ῶπη, P. [VII. 432.  
 ? προσ-ωπή (or ὀπωπή?), Hesych.  
 Κασ(σ)ῶπη, P.  
 -ῶπη  
 Μετ-, P.  
 Μαραντ-, P.  
 † Μυττ-, IG. 2. 4001.  
 \*Υ-, P.  
 Εὐ-, P.  
 μυ-, Hesych.

## WORDS IN -πης OR -πᾶς, GEN. -που OR -πᾶ

- σατράπης, Xen., +  
 ἀρχι-, Ps.-Nicod. 2. 6, +  
 ἐθνο-, Theod. Prodr. Catom. 285,  
 361.  
 ἀρχιπερσο-, Nicet. Eugen. 5. 341.
- γανυδάπης, Varro L. L. 194. 4 G. and  
 S., +  
 † Σκέπας, IG. 4. 1504 I 25.  
 κατω-βλέπας (catoblepas), Mela 3.  
 9. 9, Plin. 8. 77.

- †Δίπας, Herodian 1. 56. 6, 2. 654.  
3 L.  
ὀπίπας, Hesych.  
παῖδ-, Ath., +  
γυναικ-, Eust.  
παρθεν-, Hom., +  
ἄρρεν-, Eust.  
? οἰν-, v. l. in Ar.  
πυρρ-, Ar., +  
Ἀντίπας (or Ἀντιπᾶς; see Schulze  
KZ. 40. 409), P.  
σάλπης, Archipp. 2. 722 Mein.  
Εὐ-μέλπης, P.  
Στίλπας (or Στιλπᾶς), IG. 9. 1. 527.  
δορυ-μόλπης, Hesych.  
Δάμπης, P.  
†Πάμπας, Herodian 1. 56. 6, 2.  
654. 3.  
γλωσσόκηλο-κόμπης (or -κόμπος?),  
Comici ap. Eust. 1689. 41; see  
Nauck Phil. 6. 425.  
-όπας  
Ἀγλα-, P.  
Γοργ-, Herodian 1. 56. 7, etc.; P.  
Κλε-, P. [VII. 433.  
† Αἰθι-, pap. Tebt. 2. 337. 19.  
Ἀγρι-, P.  
Τρι-, P.  
σθηλο-κόπας, Herodicius ap. Ath.  
Σκόπας, P.  
Παρν-όπης, P. [VII. 238.  
†? Χαρ-όπης (Χαρόπην), Ditt. Syll.  
479. 2.  
Στερ-όπης, P.  
φοινικο-στερόπας, Pind.  
βαρν-όπας, Pind.  
εὐρύ-οπα, Hom., + [VII. 421 f.  
ἄππα, ἄππας, Call., +  
πάπ(π)ας, Hom., +  
Ζευγ-ίπης, Diod. 19. 106.  
† Δαμ-ίπας, IG. 9. 1. 403. 3.  
Σίπας, P.  
Θρεψ-ίπας, P.  
Χαρόπτης, see Χαρόπης.  
Στύπης, P.  
σιγ-έρπης, Call.  
†? ἀγασσέρπης, Hesych.  
Τέρπης, P.  
Ἐπι-, P.  
† Χαρι-, IG. 13. 3. 1416 Suppl., 1450  
Suppl.  
Θεν-, P.  
† Γύπας (or Γυνᾶς), Priene Inschr.  
313. 188.  
Θαρίπας, P.  
ψελιο-τρύπης, Hyperech. (Th.).  
αὐλο-τρύπης, Stratt. 2. 764 Mein.  
τύπης, Hesych., +  
-ώπας, -ωπης  
Γοργ-, P.  
† Κλε-, Act. SS. Sept. 6. 157 B  
[VII. 433.  
γλαυκ-, Eust. [VII. 422.  
Λυκ-, P.  
ἀσκαλώπας, Arist.  
? κελαιν-ώπας, Soph. [VII. 422.  
Δαιν-, P. [VII. 432.  
Οἰν- (or Οἰνώνας), P. [VII. 432.  
κυν-ῶπα (voc.), Hom. [VII. 422.  
βο-, Eust. [VII. 422.  
? ἐπ-, Hesych. [VII. 422.  
†? πανεπ-, inser. Mitth. 24. 358  
[VII. 422.  
Εὐρ-, P.  
χαριτ-, Orph. H. [VII. 422.  
Ὀκτ-, P.

HORACE *SERM.* I. 6. 115 AND THE HISTORY OF  
THE WORD *LAGANUM*

BY B. L. ULLMAN

In the sixth satire of the first book Horace is defending himself against the charge that he is an upstart and shows that this is false, that his friendship with Maecenas was of Maecenas' own choosing, that he has no desire to enter high society, and that he is content with his simple life. He loves his lowly estate because he can do just as he likes and no one pays any attention to him. He travels in simple style, walks along the streets and through the market, pricing vegetables, wanders through the forum at night, watches the fortune-tellers, and

inde domum me

Ad porri et ciceris refero laganique catinum

If Horace sees fit to weave into his poetry the names of the simple foods of which he partakes, surely it does not indicate unpardonable pedantry to wonder what the nature of this humble repast is to which he betakes himself. It is this question that this paper attempts to answer. In so doing we are naturally led to a discussion of the word *laganum* used by Horace, its earlier history in Greek, and its fate in the Romance languages.

We may dismiss at once the foolish suggestion of Ouwens quoted by Fritsche<sup>1</sup> that Horace changed off and had *porrum* one day, *cicer* the next, and *laganum* the third! It is evident that one meal is referred to and that this was served on one plate. But are we to understand three different, separately prepared foods on one plate, as we often speak of meat and potatoes, or a concoction of the three? Most readers probably would think of three separately cooked foods—if they thought about the matter at all. For the thoughts of most of us are as far remote from the vulgar realities of life when we read Horace as they well can be. His foods are apt to be surrounded with the romantic halo which surrounds the ambrosia and nectar of the gods. This is perhaps reflected in the notes of the editors.

<sup>1</sup> *Horatii Sermones* (1875).



"Fritter, vetch, and leek," translates one editor, probably not thinking of the foods those names represent.

The editors in general do not commit themselves on the question of one dish or three, thus giving the impression that separate dishes are meant. Kiessling's words are more explicit, showing that he had the latter interpretation in mind: "Die Mahlzeit ist so einfach wie möglich: Gemüse, Kichererbsen mit Lauch und *eine Schüssel Plinsen*"<sup>1</sup> (italics are mine). To me, however, it seems that a concoction is meant, and the nature of the concoction depends on the meaning of *laganum*—for the meaning of *porrum*, a leek, allied to the still plebeian onion, and of *cicer*, chick-pea, more like the vulgar bean than the pea, is quite clear; but for *laganum*, as used in the Horatian passage, we find the following meanings: Harper's *Dictionary* calls it a "kind of cake made of flour and oil," while various editions call it pancake or fritter. Of the Germans, Kiessling translates "Plinsen" (fritter); Orelli-Mewes (1892) "Plinsen, Pfannkuchen"; Saalfeld,<sup>2</sup> "Ein dünner Ölkuchen, Ölplatz, in Öl gebackene Plinse, als Speise für Ärmere." In his "Haus und Hof" (p. 82) the same author calls it "Pfannkuchen, ein dünner Ölkuchen, eine Ölpinse, von Ärmern zur Speise gewählt." Wickham (Horace, 1891) has the note: "*lagani* described by the Scholiasts as a thin cake of fine flour served with pepper sauce. It would resemble modern Italian macaroni."

It will be seen that all seem to imply that *laganum* has no culinary connection with *porrum* and *cicer*, and that there is some diversity of opinion about the meaning of *laganum*.

Let us consider the first point first. Certainly Horace's language is entirely in favor of the view that the three articles were cooked together: "I come back home to my *pot* of leek, peas, and *laganum*." It is characteristic of the humblest life to cook together whatever one happens to have. If a suitable meaning can be found for *laganum*, surely everyone will be willing to accept the argument that one dish is meant. Of course pancake or fritter will not do.<sup>3</sup> Wickham's interpretation of something like macaroni is the only

<sup>1</sup> Edition of Horace, 1884, and repeated in the 4th edition by Heinze (1910).

<sup>2</sup> *Tensaurus italograecus*.

<sup>3</sup> Lambinus, who in his commentary on Horace defends the reading *lachani* instead of *lagani*, points out the absurdity of the latter reading if the word is to be taken in the sense usually given.

possible one of those suggested and it is the one that I had decided upon before seeing his note or that of the Scholiast. Wickham bases his interpretation on a careful rendering of the Scholiast's words, without thought of the concoction. I base mine on the concoction itself, for the combination is still a favorite in central and northern Italy, going under the name of *minestrone*, "big soup." It is a simple dish but a delicious one, and one cannot blame Horace for being disinclined to give it up for the fancy foods of polite society. *Minestrone* is a thick soup containing some form of *pasta*, like macaroni, chick-peas (*ceci=cicer*), or beans (*fagioli*, though these are not so good), green vegetables, and onions. The leeks would take the place of the vegetables and onions.

We have then a very plausible explanation of the line if we can justify the meaning given to *laganum*. There is a fair amount of evidence in addition to the Scholiast's note as interpreted by Wickham. The meaning of the word elsewhere in Latin and Greek, the meaning of its derivative *artolaganum*, the analogy of other words, and finally the modern history of the word are of help.

In Greek the word is quoted by Athenaeus (110a) from Aristophanes in the sense of bread or cake, in a passage in which the texts of Aristophanes read *πόπανα* (*Eccles.* 843).<sup>1</sup> In another connection Athenaeus quotes a passage from Matron in which it is used, but does not define it. Elsewhere he uses it as a generic word for a thin dough or paste. 'Ελκύειν *λάγανον* means to stretch out the dough—corresponding to our "roll out the dough": (648a) *εἶτα σήσαμον λευκὸν τρίψας μάλαξον μέλιτι ἡψημένῳ καὶ ἔλκυσον λαγάνα δύο*. Here *λάγανον* is used for something like a thin pie-crust. In 647e the phrase *ἔλκυσον λάγανον* (made of lettuce juice, wine, flour, spice, lard) is used in a recipe for a kind of doughnut.<sup>2</sup> Hesychius defines *λάγανον* as a kind of dry cake of flour fried in oil (thus a kind of pancake) or as "loaves moistened with oil."<sup>3</sup> Photius and Suidas give similar definitions.

<sup>1</sup> The Graeco-Latin glosses (*Corpus Gloss. Lat.*, ed. Loewe-Goetz, III 314) give *πόπανα laganā*.

<sup>2</sup> The Latin-Greek glosses (*C.G.L.* II 199, 50) give *tracta, λάγανα*. *Tractum* means a piece of dough stretched out.

<sup>3</sup> This fits the use of the word in the Greek and Latin translations of the Old Testament; see below.

In Latin too the word is used of any kind of thin dough baked, fried, or boiled. A gloss (*C.G.L.* V 505) speaks of it as a kind of thin and broad *panis*, first boiled, then fried in oil (apparently a kind of dumpling).<sup>1</sup> The various passages in the Vulgate (*Exod.* 29:2; 29:23; *Lev.* 2:4) indicate merely that some sort of thin bread or cake is meant. In Apicius 4. 2, the word has a meaning similar to that in Athenaeus, a kind of thin paste used as a layer. Celsus 8. 7 says that a person with a broken jaw should take liquid nourishment for a long time, and then should take *laganum* and similar foods until the jaw is completely healed. Evidently *laganum* here means something very similar to macaroni, and not a baked or fried cake or loaf. Caelius Aurelianus (*Chron.* ii. 13.177) uses the word in a similar sense. In 2, 22, Celsus distinguishes foods as "lenes" and "acres." He includes *laganum* among the former, and manifestly uses it as a very wide term, meaning any kind of dough made of grain: *Lenes autem sunt sorbitio, pullicula, laganum, amyllum, ptisana, pinguis caro, et quaecumque glutinosa est.* It has already been said that the Scholia to Horace explain *laganum* in a way suggesting macaroni. The commentator Cruquianus has the following (and the Scholia given by Keller [1904] are practically the same): *lagana sunt placentulae quaedam volgares quasi membranulae compositae, quae cum pipere et liquamine conditae depromi solebant.*

We have seen that *laganum* in Greek and Latin has a far wider range than is generally supposed, thus favoring our interpretation of the Horatian passage, and that, furthermore, the words of Celsus and the Horatian Scholia more specifically bear out this interpretation.

*Λάγανον* is still used in modern Greek to mean "a sheet of paste (παῖστ), a kind of pastry; sweet cake" (Contopoulos, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 5th ed., 1903); "hearth-cake" (Kyriakides, *Modern Greek-English Dictionary*, 1909); "Kuchen und Blätterteig" (Mitsotakis in Langenscheidt's *Taschenwörterbücher*, 1905). The latter two authorities give also a feminine form *λαγάνα*, which Mitsotakis says is colloquial. The accent may be due to the influence of the diminutive *λαγάνια*.

*Ἀρτολάγανον* (loaf-laganum) is described by Athenaeus as a loaf made of weak wine, pepper, milk, and oil or suet. Pliny (*N.H.*

<sup>1</sup> Old editions of Isidorus (*Orig.* xx. 2. 17) also give this (not in Lindsay).

18, 27) also classes it as a bread or cake (*panis*). The editions of Cicero have *artolaganus* in *Fam.* ix.20.2 but the Thesaurus follows the MSS in reading *artolagynus*. The fact that there was a distinctive name *artolaganum* shows that all *laganum* was not in loaf form.

That *laganum* should be used as a general word for dough or paste, and also as a specific name for various breads and cakes and for a food similar to macaroni, is not at all surprising. Parallels in modern languages are numerous. Most striking is that of the Italian word *pasta*, which is applied to dough in general (hence our word "paste"), to small cakes of infinite variety (cf. "pastry"), and to the numerous kinds of dough of which macaroni and spaghetti are to us the best known. Similarly macaroon and macaroni are derived from the one Italian word *maccarone*.

The word *laganum*, we have seen, is still used in modern Greek. Is it used in modern Latin, i.e., the Romance languages? We should expect it to survive there in its original sense. Horace is giving a list of plebeian foods when he mentions leeks, chick-peas, and *laganum*, and it was the plebeian language which developed into the various Romance languages. *Porrum* and *cicer* have survived in Italian *porro*, *cece*, etc. Körting,<sup>1</sup> following Diez, gives: "*laganum*, platter Kuchen, die Lage oder Schicht eines sogen. Blätterkuchens; davon vermutlich abruzz. *lágana*; span. *launa*, Metallplatte." Even if this doubtful derivation is correct it is of no help to us. But there is an Italian word, *lasagna*, which has exactly the meaning we want. It is now commonly used to mean a kind of *pasta* similar to macaroni. It also sometimes means a kind of pastry.<sup>2</sup> Forcellini's comment on the use of *laganum* in Apicius as a paste (patty) is interesting, for it shows that *lasagna* in Forcellini's day was the equivalent of still another meaning of *laganum*: "*laganum* substernitur patinae Apicianae. . . . Unde colligitur, simile esse iis, quae Itali vocant

<sup>1</sup> *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*, ed. 3 (1907).

<sup>2</sup> So Rigutini and Fanfani: "pasta di farina di grano spianata, e che si taglia a lunghe strisce quando è fresca, le quali poi si cuociono nel brodo, o nell' acqua, e poi si condisce con burro e formaggio, e con sugo di carne. E dicesi così anche una specie di pastume, simile nella forma." The *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, III (1806), gives only the former meaning: "Pasta di farina di grano, che si distende sottilissimamente sopra graticci, e secca per cibo."

*lasagne*, quae hodieque multis delicatioribus impensis [=materials] quas dicunt *torte*, *pasticci*, substerni solent, continendi gratia."

But is *lasagna* derived from *laganum*? The Crusca Dictionary and Rigutini and Fanfani so derive it without comment. Zambaldi derives it from *lasanum*.<sup>1</sup> Körting (*op. cit.*) and Diez<sup>2</sup> have nothing at all.<sup>3</sup> To my mind, *lasagna* derives its form from *lasanum* and its meaning largely from *laganum*. But what does *lasanum* mean? In Greek—for it is a Greek word—both singular and plural forms are used in the singular sense. Pollux (x.99) says it is a pot-holder or gridiron (*χυτρόπους*), quoting Diocles the comic poet.<sup>4</sup> The Scholia to Aristophanes give the same definition in commenting on *Pax* 893, where the word may mean cook-pot, or pot-holder, or pot and holder. In Bekker *Anecd.* 106, it is stated that in Attic Greek it meant a *μαγειρικὸς βῆννος*, cooking-pot, or else a chamber-pot, a meaning which it has in a number of other passages in Greek. In Latin it is found in Horace *Serm.* i.6.109, in the Scholia to the passage, in Petron. 41.9 and 47.5, and in *Anthol. Lat.* 1134 Meyer (205 Riese.) In Petronius it has the meaning chamber-pot, and seems to have the same meaning in the Anthology, but the line is corrupt. Some scholars, following the Scholia, defend the same meaning for Horace, but the meaning cooking-pot is far more suitable here, and is justified by the Greek examples. (The transition of meaning from pot-holder to pot is quite natural; cf. Latin *focus*, hearth, becoming Italian *fuoco*, fire.)

Now, nothing is more common than to find the name of a vessel applied to its contents. The English words pot and dish may mean the vessel or the contents. The Latin *sartago*, frying-pan, means also hotch-potch;<sup>5</sup> *aenum*, a bronze pot, means also its contents (of

<sup>1</sup> *Vocabolario etimologico italiano* (1889): "è un forma ad. dal gr. lasanon, lat. lasanum specie di pentola e di vaso; varrebbe adunque pasta da cuocere nella pentola."

<sup>2</sup> *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen*, 1887.

<sup>3</sup> The Spanish word *lasaña*, a kind of pancake, is probably derived from the Italian, as stated in the *Diccionario enciclopédico de la lengua castellana*, Paris, 1898. But it seems to have been taken over at a time when the Italian word had a wider meaning than at present, more like that of the Latin *laganum*, which could mean pancake as well as other things.

<sup>4</sup> *Λάσανα* cannot here mean pot and holder, as *χυτρόπους* sometimes does, for Diocles says: *Ἀπὸ λασάνων θερμὴν ἀφαίρῃσιν χύτραν.*

<sup>5</sup> *Hotch-potch* itself is derived from Fr. *hochepot*, "shake-pot," i.e., a pot of meat and vegetables "shaken" together.

perfume, in Juvenal 8. 86); *patina*, dish, means also a kind of cake; *mortarium*, a mortar or trough, means also the drugs pounded therein, or the mortar (building-material) mixed in it. *Lasanum* then can easily mean the contents of a cooking-pot.

Another common phenomenon in language is for a general term to acquire a restricted meaning. So the English word pottage, in its altered form, porridge, usually has the very much restricted sense of oatmeal porridge. *Lasanum* can mean anything cooked in a pot, especially a cheap food eaten by many people. Now *laganum* was such a food. What more natural than that the two words should become confused, and fused? <sup>1</sup> Such confusion is extremely common; the very word porridge just mentioned, Murray (*English Dictionary*) suggests, was influenced in one of its senses by porray, an entirely different word. But the fusion of the two Latin words into the form of the one and the meaning largely of the other would give the Italian *lasano*, not *lasagna*. *Lasagna* must be derived from \**lasanìa*, neuter plural of the Greek diminutive form. (The diminutive *λαγάνα* is found in one of the Athenaeus passages [648a] cited above.) The Latin neuter disappeared in the Romance languages, most neuter words becoming masculine, but some feminine, the latter being formed from the plural when it was frequently used (e.g., Latin *pecora*, neuter plural, became Italian *pecora*, feminine singular).<sup>2</sup> Perhaps there is evidence that the change from *laganion* to *lasagna* was complete by the twelfth century. For Ugutio of Pisa,<sup>3</sup> about 1200 A.D., has this to say about *laganum*: "*Laganum*, quoddam genus cibi, quod prius in aqua coquitur, postea in oleo frigitur; et sunt lagana de pasta quasi quaedam membra iliaea, quae quando in oleo statim friguntur, postea melle conduntur (*condiuntur*) illa vulgo dicuntur Cuetella, ista Lassaaia: et dicuntur sic, quia sunt suavia ad comedendum, etc." The first definition is from *C.G.L.* V 505. For the apparently senseless *membra iliaea* I would suggest *membranulae*. The vulgar (i.e., Italian) word for the second use of

<sup>1</sup> The confusion is supported by MS authority. Kirehner reports that some MSS have *laganum* (sscr. *al'lasanum*) in Horace *Serm.* i. 6. 109.

<sup>2</sup> A similar change took place in the word *τυμπάνιον*, Latin *tympanium*, which in Neapolitan Italian became *tompagna*, and in the Lecce dialect *tampaña* (see Körting, *op. cit.*).

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Du Cange under *Cuetella*.



*laganum*, evidently a kind of pancake, was *lassaia*, in which we can perhaps see the modern *lasagna*.

It can be no mere accident that words so rare and so similar in form as *lasanum* and *laganum* should be found within six lines of each other in Horace *Serm.* i.6.109 and 115. Not that Horace deliberately put them together; rather, a subconscious psychological process was at work that can be found in any piece of writing—the tendency to repeat words and to use words suggested by those already used. *Lasanum* subconsciously suggested the contents of the *lasanum*, which often was *laganum*, and thus caused the use of the latter word a few lines farther on. This factor, largely ignored in the study of Latin literature, is of considerable importance for the study of an author's train of thought.

#### NOTE ON *Catillus Ornatus* IN ATHENAEUS

The word *laganum*, discussed in the foregoing, is found in a passage of Athenaeus which gives a recipe for the Roman dish called *catillus ornatus*. I call attention to it here to give an additional example of the necessity of an investigation of ancient cookery. The interpretation of many passages in Latin and Greek would gain therefrom. Yonge's translation (in Bohn's *Classical Library*) shows clearly that he had not the faintest idea of the nature of the dish. After much puzzling it finally came to me that something very similar to an ordinary doughnut or cruller, fried in oil in the Italian style, is meant! I append Yonge's translation:

There is another cake which is called by the Romans *catillus ornatus*, and which is made thus: Wash some lettuces and scrape them; then put some wine into a mortar and pound the lettuces in it; then, squeezing out the juice, mix up some flour from spring wheat in it, and allowing it to settle, after a little while pound it again, adding a little pig's fat and pepper; then pound it again, draw it out into a cake, smoothe it, and cut it again, and cut it into shape, and boil it in hot oil, putting all the fragments which you have cut off into a strainer.

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## EVIDENCE IN THE AREOPAGUS

BY ROBERT J. BONNER

The law cited by Demosthenes which required testimonial evidence to be reduced to writing before being produced in court has generally been regarded as applicable to all courts in all periods. But recent investigation has made it clear that the law was not in force earlier than 390 B.C.<sup>1</sup> And in the absence of an explicit statement that the law applied to all courts it seems worth while to inquire what justification there is for the tacit assumption that evidence produced before the Areopagus and other courts of similar jurisdiction was ever required to be in writing.

The extant speeches delivered before the "Blutgerichte," to adopt a convenient German designation of the Areopagus and other courts of similar jurisdiction, belong to the period before the enactment of the law requiring evidence to be in writing, and so they exhibit no indications of the use of written evidence. For the period after the enactment of the law there is an Areopagus case, cited by the plaintiff in *Mantitheus v. Boeotus*, which is significant. Boeotus, it is alleged, had contrived to involve his brother Mantitheus in a quarrel. Then, claiming that he had been wounded in the fight which ensued, he laid an indictment for wounding with intent. At the trial it was established by testimony that the wound was really self-inflicted. Euthydicus, a physician, testified that Boeotus had requested him to make an incision in his scalp.

οὗτος δ' ἔμοι μετὰ Μενεκλέους τοῦ πάντων τούτων ἀρχιτέκτονος ἐπιβουλεύσας καὶ ἐξ ἀντιλογίας καὶ λοιδορίας πληγὰς συναψάμενος, ἐπιτεμὼν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τραύματος εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον με προσεκαλέσατο, ὥς φυγαδεύσων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· καὶ εἰ μὴ Εὐθύδικος ὁ ἰατρός, πρὸς ὃν οὗτοι τὸ πρῶτον ἦλθον

<sup>1</sup> For detailed arguments in favor of this view see Bonner, *Evidence in Athenian Courts*, Chicago, 1905, pp. 46 ff. Cf. Thalheim's review, *Berlin. Phil. Woch.*, 1905, p. 1575. Three years later, Leisi, *Der Zeuge im attischen Recht*, pp. 85 f., advanced the same view: "Für die Richtigkeit dieser Entdeckung dürfte auch der Umstand sprechen, dass ich unabhängig von Bonner, ein Vierteljahr vor der Publication seiner Arbeit, zu derselben Einsicht gelangt bin." I did not venture to suggest an exact date for the enactment of this law. Thalheim proposed 375 B.C. I am now inclined to accept 390 B.C., the date proposed by Leisi.

δεόμενοι ἐπιτεμεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, πρὸς τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν εἶπε τὴν ἀλήθειαν πᾶσαν, τοιαύτην δίκην οὗτος ἂν εἰλήφει παρ' ἐμοῦ κ. τ. λ.<sup>1</sup>

The words πρὸς τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν εἶπε τὴν ἀλήθειαν πᾶσαν are quite unsuited to describe the reading of a formal affidavit; they inevitably imply oral testimony. And it is not surprising that a law introducing so great an innovation in the manner of presenting evidence should not have applied to the Areopagus and the other "Blutgerichte."<sup>2</sup> Trials for homicide were closely connected with religion and the procedure resembled a ritual. Consequently there was a strong tendency to adhere to the ancient practice which differed in many respects from that of the other courts.<sup>3</sup>

According to the accepted view all evidentiary matter was produced at the preliminary investigation.

Der Process, sowohl der gemeine bürgerliche, als der Blutprocess zerfällt in zwei Stadien, in die Instruction (ἀνάκρισις) und die eigentliche Verhandlung (δίκη). Die letztere besteht nur aus den Reden der Parteien, auf welche dann das Erkenntniss der Richter unmittelbar folgt. Das ganze Material aber an Beweisen, Zeugenaussagen, Eidesleistungen der Parteien muss schon in der Voruntersuchung derart beschaffen sein, dass die Redner, wie die erhaltenen Reden zeigen, bei der Verhandlung darauf sich beziehen können.<sup>4</sup>

But nothing in the orators or the lexicographers affords support for the view that the whole body of evidence or any considerable portion of it was ever required to be produced at any preliminary investigation, whether ἀνάκρισις or προδικασία. On the contrary there are a number of indications that evidentiary matter could be filed right up to the beginning of trial in the regular Heliastic courts.<sup>5</sup> In order to include this evidentiary matter in the proceedings of the ἀνάκρισις it has been proposed to extend it so as to include every

<sup>1</sup> (Demosthenes) xl. 32. The date of *Mantitheus v. Boeotus* is generally put in 347 B.C. The case before the Areopagus was at most only a few years earlier. In any event it was long after the date of the law requiring evidence to be in writing.

<sup>2</sup> Gilbert, *Griechische Staatsalterthümer*, I, 432, assumes that the practice was the same in all the "Blutgerichte." This seems to be an entirely reasonable assumption. Cf. also Philippi, *Der Areopag*, pp. 84 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Antiphon i. 3; v. 14, 88.

<sup>4</sup> Philippi, *Der Areopag*, p. 85. Cf. Meier und Schömann, *Der attische Process*, p. 494.

<sup>5</sup> For the proceedings of the ἀνάκρισις see *Evidence in Athenian Courts*, pp. 48 ff., and Leisi, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83.

official act of the magistrate in charge of the case right up to the time of going to trial.<sup>1</sup> But this theory fails to account for the appearance of documents at the trial the contents of which were unknown to the opposing litigant. For neither litigant need be ignorant of the contents of a document filed at the *ἀνάκρισις*. And yet on several occasions the language of the speaker clearly implies the possibility of a document's being filed without his knowledge. Now the filing of a document under circumstances which rendered it impossible for a litigant with the exercise of due diligence to acquaint himself with its contents before it was read in court cannot properly be regarded as part of the proceedings of the *ἀνάκρισις*. In effect such evidence was produced for the first time at the trial.

One of the chief objects of the *προδικασίαι* was to determine before what court the case should come and whether the accuser was the proper party to conduct the prosecution.<sup>2</sup> As a rule little or no evidence apart from the statements of the parties would be required to enable the magistrate to reach a decision on these points. Philippi believes that all witnesses were sworn at a preliminary investigation. But Gilbert has shown that the evidence cited does not support this view. The available information regarding the *προδικασίαι* is meager; but a case cited by the speaker in Isocrates' *adversus Callimachum* (52 ff.) throws some light on the proceedings so far as the production of evidence is concerned.<sup>3</sup> The facts are as follows. The brother-in-law of Callimachus had a quarrel with one Cratinus, which resulted in a personal encounter. In the course of the fight a female slave was injured. Callimachus assisted his brother-in-law to conceal the woman, and gave out that she had died as the result of a blow inflicted by Cratinus. An indictment for manslaughter was laid before the king archon who brought the case into the court in the Palladium. Cratinus, however, becoming aware of the real situation succeeded in locating the woman; but being determined to catch the plotters *ἐπ' αὐτοφάρῳ κακούργοις*, he kept his discovery secret until the day of the trial when he produced the woman alive and well to the utter confusion of the prosecutors. It is

<sup>1</sup> Thalheim, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Gilbert, *Griechische Staatsalterthümer*, I, 432.

<sup>3</sup> The date of this speech is about 400 B.C.

useless to inquire what Cratinus did in the preliminary investigations to lead the prosecutors to conclude that the plot was succeeding. Manifestly he did not disclose his real defense nor produce the evidence upon which he relied to establish his innocence. That the woman was real evidence<sup>1</sup> and not a witness is of no consequence. The case clearly establishes the fact that the law did not require all the evidence to be produced before the trial.

The rules governing the competency of witnesses were not the same for the "Blutgerichte" as for the other courts. Thus an otherwise competent witness before the Areopagus was disqualified unless he was able to swear to the truth or falsity of the charge. It is probable that this rule was operative in the other "Blutgerichte."<sup>2</sup>

There is no explicit statement that women were not competent witnesses in Athenian courts; but the absence of any reference to the evidence of women in the extant cases and the repeated challenges to accept their evidentiary oaths make it certain that women were not competent witnesses. There is, however, an incident recited in a speech attributed to Demosthenes<sup>3</sup> which can be satisfactorily explained only by assuming that in homicide cases women and children were competent witnesses, as I have elsewhere shown.<sup>4</sup>

The prevailing view that slaves were permitted to testify against a defendant charged with homicide has not gone unchallenged, but the arguments advanced against it from time to time have as a rule been rejected. The chief basis for the theory is an isolated statement in Antiphon, and a provision in Plato's laws giving slaves a right to testify in homicide cases:

εἴπερ γὰρ καὶ μαρτυρεῖν ἔξεστι δούλῳ κατὰ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου τὸν φόνον, καὶ τῷ δεσπότη, ἂν δοκῇ, ἐπεξελθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δούλου, καὶ ἡ ψῆφος ἴσον δύναιται τῷ δούλῳ ἀποκτείναντι καὶ τῷ ἐλεύθερον, εἰκός τοι καὶ ψῆφον γενέσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἦν, καὶ μὴ ἀκριτον ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ὅφ' ὕμῳν.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Evidence in Athenian Courts*, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> *Lysias* iv. 4.

<sup>3</sup> (Demosthenes) xlvii. 68 ff.

<sup>4</sup> "Did Women Testify in Homicide Cases in Athens?" *Class. Phil.* I (1906), 127 f. Leisi, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 ff.; 21, note 1, agrees with me regarding women but limits the exception to male children. As both *υἱός* and *παῖδα* are mentioned, there is no reason for the limitation.

<sup>5</sup> Antiphon v. 48. Platner, *Der Prozess und die Klagen bei den Attikern* (1824-25), I, 215, was the first to suggest that *μαρτυρεῖν* is used in the sense of *μνησθεῖν*. Gugenheim, *Die Bedeutung der Folterung im attischen Prozesse* (1882), pp. 3 ff., elaborated

It will be observed that slave evidence is allowed only in case it is *against* the accused person. This is suspiciously like an information which must always be against a defendant. This suspicion is confirmed by the fact that in other passages in which Antiphon uses *μαρτυρία* and *μαρτυρεῖν* in connection with slaves they were informers not witnesses.<sup>1</sup> In the present passage the argument is quite as effective if *μηνύειν* be substituted for *μαρτυρεῖν*. Leisi admits this possibility, but regards the passage in Plato as decisive:

δούλῃ καὶ δούλῳ καὶ παιδὶ φόνον μόνον ἐξέστω μαρτυρεῖν καὶ συνηγορεῖν, εἰς ἐγγυητὴν ἀξιώχρεον ἢ μὴν μενεῖν καταστήσῃ μέχρι δίκης, εἰς ἐπισκῆφθῃ τὰ ψευδῆ μαρτυρήσαι.<sup>2</sup>

But Plato's rule does not correspond to the rule deduced from Antiphon. He permits a slave to give evidence either for or against a freeman charged with homicide, makes provision for overcoming opposition on the part of a master,<sup>3</sup> and requires a surety in case the slave is indicted for perjury.

But the most serious objection to the theory that slaves could be witnesses is the absence of any trace of slaves' evidence in connection with homicide cases in the orators. In the case against the stepmother in Antiphon (I, 8 ff.) the prosecutor alleges that slaves in the possession of the defendant were aware that on previous occasions she had administered drugs to his father. Apparently he made no attempt to have them appear as witnesses. He did, however, issue a challenge to the defendant to allow them to be tortured. The choregus<sup>4</sup> who was charged with homicide challenged the prosecution to leave the question of his guilt to the evidence of the persons who were present when the chorus boy was given the fatal draught.

this point, and discussed the bearing of the provision in Plato's *Laws*. These arguments were rejected by Lipsius, *Der attische Process*, pp. 875 f. In *Evidence in Athenian Courts* I presented further arguments in favor of the view of Platner and Guggenheim. Leisi, while adhering to the view of Lipsius, makes some important concessions. Wyse, *Class. Review* XX (1906), 59, quotes my arguments with approval but does not believe that the speaker has an information in mind. "I believe that what the speaker had in mind was his own hard case, i.e., the 'evidence' of the tortured slave which the prosecutors brought up against him." Antiphon himself was quite capable of delivering so delicate a thrust, but it is not easy to believe that he would put it into a speech to be delivered by a young man from Mytilene.

<sup>1</sup> For details see Guggenheim, *op. cit.*, Meier and Schömann, *Der attische Process*, pp. 330, 750, 875.

<sup>2</sup> *Laws*, 937 B.

<sup>3</sup> *Laws*, 954 E.

<sup>4</sup> Antiphon vi. 22.

Among these persons were a number of slaves. Here again the absence of any reference to slaves as witnesses is suspicious. In the Herodes case (35) the most incriminating evidence against the defendant is a statement extracted from a slave under torture. If, as the defendant alleges, the slave was an unwilling informer against him why did he not protest that the proper course was to produce him as a witness? Instead of availing himself of this safe and effective means of throwing discredit upon the case of the prosecution he argues that the slave should have been turned over to himself for examination under torture (36). It is beyond belief that the man whose words have been interpreted to mean that slaves were competent witnesses should have failed to invoke the law in his own behalf. Since our knowledge of the facts of these cases is imperfect it does not require much ingenuity to discover possible reasons for the absence of slave's evidence, but the final impression produced by the constant references to torture and the absolute silence about testimony must be that this situation is not a matter of accident.

Exactly the same situation is found in Antiphon's first tetralogy. A man was slain and his slave was mortally wounded. In an ante-mortem statement the slave identified the defendant as the assailant. In attacking the credibility of this statement the defendant says:

ἀπιστουμένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δούλων ἐν ταῖς μαρτυρίαις — οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐβασανίζομεν αὐτούς — πῶς δίκαιον τούτῳ μαρτυροῦντι πιστεύσαντας διαφθεῖραί με; A. β. 7.

The prosecutor meets the objection to accepting a slave's statement without torture by pointing out that in such cases, viz., where the slave was an informer, he was set free, not tortured (γ.4) It is plain that in practice the evidence of a slave was produced either as an information or as a statement made under torture.

This conclusion is further confirmed by an even more significant case hitherto unnoticed in this connection, which the plaintiff in *Theomnestus v. Neaera*<sup>1</sup> cites. Some time previously Stephanus,

<sup>1</sup> (Demosthenes) lix. 9 ff.: ἐπενέγκας γὰρ αὐτῷ αἰτίαν ψευδῆ, ὡς Ἀφιδναζέ ποτε ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ δραπετήν αὐτοῦ ζητῶν πατάξει γυναῖκα καὶ ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς τελευτήσειεν ἢ ἄνθρωπος, παρασκευασμένοι ἄνθρώπους δούλους καὶ κατασκευάσαντες ὡς Κυρηναῖοι εἴησαν, προεῖπον αὐτῷ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ φόνου.



the husband of the defendant, prosecuted Apollodorus, the brother-in-law of Theomnestus, for homicide. The case came before the court in the Palladium. In support of this accusation, which was afterward shown to be false, Stephanus produced as witnesses some slaves pretending that they were Cyrenaeans. Here at least is a case in which there were no obstacles in the way of producing slaves as witnesses. Their evidence was against the defendant and they were under the control of the prosecutor. If they were competent witnesses why did Stephanus in pressing a false charge incur an additional risk by pretending that they were freemen? The obvious conclusion to be drawn from these cases is that in practice slaves' evidence was unknown in Athens. This conclusion is materially strengthened by a passage in Antiphon's defense of the choregus, in which he contrasts the means available for confirming the statements of freemen and of slaves—oaths and pledges in the case of the former, torture in the case of the latter. If slaves regularly appeared as witnesses before the "Blutgerichte" such a statement from a defendant in a homicide case would be pointless.<sup>1</sup>

Leisi<sup>2</sup> has receded in a marked degree from the position taken by Lipsius in respect of the arguments advanced by Guggenheim. He accounts for the absence of slave testimony in the extant cases by pointing out that the law merely permits slaves to testify; it does not forbid their being tortured. Here is his final conclusion. "Im allgemeinen gilt aber eine auf der Folter abgenommene Aussage für zuverlässiger als ein Zeugnis. Diese Regel wird sich auch auf das Zeugnis von Sklaven erstrecken, und daraus wird es sich erklären, warum wir weiter nichts von Sklavenzeugnis hören. Das ganze Institut macht den Eindruck von einem Residuum einer früheren Gerichtsordnung, das aus religiöser Scheu vor Änderung der alten geheiligten Satzungen an den Blutgerichtshöfen bestehen blieb." In a word the law was obsolete even in the time of Antiphon. It had disappeared without leaving a trace either in legal practice or in legal literature. Under the circumstances it certainly seems preferable to avoid this anomaly by understanding *μαρτυρεῖν* in the passage in question to mean what it undoubtedly means in every other passage in Antiphon where it is used of slaves.

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<sup>1</sup> Antiphon vi. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

## SATURA AS A GENERIC TERM

BY ARTHUR LESLIE WHEELER

In *Classical Philology* for April, 1911, Professor G. L. Hendrickson expressed his view that *satura* had not become an accepted generic term when Horace wrote *Satires* i. 4 and 10, and that it was not in reality so accepted until about 30 B.C., when it appears for the first time in extant Roman literature (*ibid.* ii. 1. 1). Professor Hendrickson would limit the final and successful struggle of the word for the position of a generic term to the decade 40-30 B.C.

My serious doubts concerning this view were forcibly recalled<sup>1</sup> by Professor Ingersoll's supplementary article (*Class. Phil.*, January, 1912), and it is worth while to enter upon a little friendly controversy with these scholars since the question is important in literary history. We must remember, however, that because of fragmentary material we are dealing with probability, not certainty.

The points adduced by Professor Hendrickson to support his view "that *satura* as the designation of a form of literature was either not in existence or not in current usage down to the decade 40-30 B.C."<sup>2</sup> are derived in part from Marx's well-known Prolegomena to Lucilius and may be stated as follows:

1. The rare occurrence of *satura* as a literary term, especially its absence from "contexts which seem fairly to clamor for it in Horace's first book of *Sermones*," and the vague terminology used by Varro, Cicero, Horace, etc., for the genre.
2. The probability that "neither Varro nor Verrius Flaccus explained the word as the name of a poetical form, nor alluded to it."
3. The lack of evidence from Ennius and Lucilius that they used *satura* to designate what we call their "satires," and (positively) the fact that Lucilius used other terms, for example, *ludi*, *sermones*, and *schedium*.

<sup>1</sup> Professor Hendrickson, *Class. Phil.* VI, 342 (July, 1911), reaffirms his views and uses his results as an argument against A. Klotz (on Varro).

<sup>2</sup> Sentences thus quoted are from Hendrickson's article.

4. To Cicero, Velleius, etc., Lucilius is "an individual, and not the representative of a literary genus." "For Cicero apparently his work is as individual as the man himself."

Marx, using only part of this evidence, suggested that Ennius called his satires *poemata per saturam*, that Lucilius altered this to *sermones per saturam*, and that *satura* as a noun and a generic literary term came into use before Horace. This would indicate as the period in which *satura* is supposed to have ousted whatever term Ennius and Lucilius used the sixty or seventy years between the death of Lucilius and the composition of Horace's satires. Professor Hendrickson's view is, therefore, a refinement of Marx's doctrine: instead of seventy years for the successful struggle of *satura* to generic prominence only ten years are allowed.<sup>1</sup> This theory even in the form stated by Marx would cause nothing short of a revolution in our attitude toward the *testimonia* concerning *satura*. Professor Hendrickson burns his bridges behind him! He rejects other possible explanations of his facts: that the rare and late occurrence of the term *satura* may be "a matter of accident, a caprice of fortune in the preservation of literary monuments"; that "a technical designation is something which we might expect to find avoided"; that the vague terminology of Horace may be "merely a matter of chance or of taste in the choice of literary expressions." According to my own view these three possibilities, even if viewed as mere assumptions, afford a far more probable explanation of the facts than Professor Hendrickson's theory. But we may go beyond mere assumption and show that they have far better positive support, and this I shall try to prove, considering Professor Hendrickson's points in order.

The first point is of vital importance to the argument. The remaining points are in fact either involved in or subsidiary to this main issue. If a convincing explanation differing from that of Professor Hendrickson can be given for the facts presented under this head, his entire theory will have but little to commend it. Now the cardinal defect of Professor Hendrickson's argument on this point is that he takes too narrow a view. The question is not

<sup>1</sup> The more liberal views of Marx have not met with general acceptance; cf. Leo, *Götting. gelehrte. Anz.* (1906), p. 859; Lommatsch, *Bu. Jhb.* 139 (1908), etc.

whether the term *satura* occurs rarely, is absent where one might expect it, and has numerous substitutes more or less vague, but how in general Roman poets speak of their own work and that of others. If the situation within the realm of satire is closely paralleled in other genres, then we cannot infer that *satura* had the astonishing history which Professor Hendrickson outlines. Only once in his article do I find an allusion to the possibility that the same vague and varied terminology may be applied to other genres, and in that one allusion he merely puts the question, and puts it narrowly. "It may be questioned," he says, "whether any other literary name [than that of Lucilius] of equal prominence figures in the works of Cicero so vaguely." But since the manner of Cicero's references to poets and poetry is of secondary importance to the present question, I pass him by for the moment<sup>1</sup> and turn to that which is of the first importance: the expressions applied in general by Roman poets to their work and in particular those expressions which occur in program poems like Horace's *Satires* i. 4, 1. 10, ii. 1. The first of these questions has been investigated, and I take most of the following examples from the collections of F. Barta,<sup>2</sup> whose second program contains a mass of material bearing directly on our present question, since the expressions used for "poem" include those employed by the poets for their own compositions—in whatever genre they may be working. The variety of the terms for poem and poetry is astonishing even to one who may be very familiar with Roman poetry. Poets are not grammarians and have little need of precise terms. Certainly they would show little taste in repeating such terms often. Barta classifies under sixty-five heads or, if we include the terms for "writing poetry," under one hundred heads!<sup>3</sup> It is

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 474.

<sup>2</sup> *Ueber die auf die Dichtkunst bezüglichen Ausdrücke bei den römischen Dichtern*, i. "dichten" and "Dichter"; ii. "Gedicht," two programs, Linz, 1889, 1890. Barta has covered nearly all Roman poetry of the first three centuries and much that is later. He includes some prose (Cicero's *Pro Archia* and Pliny's *Letters*). I have not seen M. Vogt's *Der Buchtitel in der römischen Poesie*, Diss., Munich, 1900, nor E. Lohan, *De librorum titulis apud classicos scriptores*, etc., Marburg, 1890. There are, of course, many analogues in Greek which I have not touched. G. Kuhlmann has investigated this subject in his dissertation *De poetarum et poematum Graecorum appellationibus*, Marburg, 1906.

<sup>3</sup> Some of Horace's expressions involve a verb, e.g., *haec ego ludo*.

enough to say in general that the terms range all the way from common words, such as *carmen*, *libellus*, *opus*, etc., to rare metaphors—*amores*, *ignes*, *honores*, *apinae*, etc. Precise and generic terms are comparatively rare. This general practice is parallel to that of Horace in whom also the vague and precise terms occur side by side, but the latter are comparatively infrequent. But the particular interest of Barta's collections for us is that they enable us to follow the very terms used by Horace of satire into other genres and to answer the question whether other poets use them when they have other genres in mind, just as Horace uses them of satire. The answer is a decided affirmative. All of these terms occur, most of them frequently, in passages which are concerned with a definite genre. The fact is so clearly established that a few typical illustrations will suffice.

*scriptum*

Catullus xxxvi. 7:

electissima pessimi poetae

*scripta*

(the *Annales Volusi* v. 1, although Lesbia had meant a different genre!).

Propertius iii. 9. 45 (Rothstein):

haec urant pueros, haec urant *scripta* puellas

(his own elegies); iii. 23. 2; Ovid *Ex. P.* i. 7. 30; *ibid. Tr.* ii. 517; *ibid. Ex. P.* iv. 13. 33; Phaedrus iv. 7. 1 *scripta* . . . mea (of the "Fables").

*versus*

Cf. Hor. i. 4. 40 (of satire); cf. ii. 1. 68.

This term is very common in other poets and at times is applied to "verses" of a definite kind.

Propertius i. 9. 11:

plus in amore valet Mimnermi *versus* Homero:

(of the erotic elegy of Mimnermus).

*Ibid.* ii. 34. 43:

incipere iam angusto *versus* includere torno,

(of erotic elegy); *ibid.* iii. 24. 4; *ibid.* iii. 7. 77; Ovid *Tr.* v. 12. 49; *ibid. Ex. P.* ii. 2. 8; Lucret. i. 949; Verg. *G.* ii. 42; Martial x. 38. 1.

Lucil. 411 (Marx):

conicere in *versus* dictum praeconis volebam

Grani

Cf. 480 in *Homeri versibus*

688

<te> . . . fictis *versibus* Lucilium,  
quibus potest, inperit,

cf. 1087 <h> is te *versibus* interea contentus teneto, cf. 1036, 968, etc. (see Marx's *Index*). In Lucilius, of course, it is often impossible to know who is talking.

*genus hoc*

Horace i. 4. 24 and 64. This term indicates that Horace recognized that he was writing a definite *genus* whatever its precise name. That he proceeds to define his own conception of that *genus* means no more with regard to its name than the numerous discussions about the novel mean with regard to the term "novel." The term *genus* is in itself so colorless that it requires some sort of defining adjunct such as a pronoun (Horace) or a limiting genitive. Accius<sup>1</sup> (*F.P.R.* 269) in his *Didascal.* says: *Nam quam varia haec genera poematorum, Baebi, quamque longe distincta alia ab aliis sint, nosce.* Ovid. *Tr.* ii. 517 *genus hoc scripti* (of the mime, cf. 515).

*opus*

This term is used by Horace (ii. 1. 1) in the same breath with *satura*; cf. *Epp.* i. 4. 3 *opuscula* (probably of elegy). The word is very general in meaning, and yet in the proper context is often used where the poet has a definite kind of "work" in mind.

Propertius iii. 1. 17:

*opus hoc de monte Sororum*

*detulit intacta pagina nostra via.*

(of his own elegy); cf. v. 34, *Homerus . . . opus*, and iii. 3. 4, *tantum operis* (both of epic).

Ovid *Ex. P.* i. 1. 2:

*Naso . . .*

*hoc tibi de Getico litore mittit opus.*

(cf. Book i of the epistles); cf. iii. 9. 54 (cf. Book iii); ii. 11. 2 (of the epistle in which the word stands). *Am.* iii. 9. 5; cf. *Elegeia* vs. 3; *Am.* iii. 15. 20; *M.* xv. 871; *Lucan Phars.* x. 198; *Martial* i. 25. 2.

*hoc, haec*

Horace i. 10. 37 *haec ego ludo* (of the satires; *ludo*, of course, defines more closely what he means). Horace has just referred to the epics of *Bibaculus* so vaguely that a reference here to his own work by means of a generic term would have been extremely inartistic. In the following lines there is the usual Roman combination of vague and precise terms until in 46 we have again *hoc erat . . . melius quod scribere possem, inventore minor. . . .* So vs. 82-83, 88, 92. This pronominal habit is a prominent feature of Roman prose as well as verse, but we are interested primarily in the poets.

Propertius ii. 1. 3:

*non haec Calliope, non haec mihi cantat Apollo*

<sup>1</sup> This passage proves that *genera* were discussed in the time of Lucilius—a fact which is clear from the fragments of Lucilius himself.

(of his own elegy).

Persius i. 125:

aspice et haec, si forte aliquid decoctius audis,

(of his own satires).

Propertius iii. 23. 23.

Martial is full of illustrations; cf. ii. 8. 8, *haec mala sunt*; iii. 1. 1, *hoc*; x. 4. 8, *hoc*; xi, 106. 2, *hoc*. All these refer to Martial's own poetical work. Many other pronouns—*mea, tua, nostra, ista*, etc.—illustrate the Roman manner equally well.<sup>1</sup>

#### *libellus*

Horace i. 4. 71 (due partly to the contrast with the *libelli*, of a different sort, in vs. 66). Like *opus* and other general terms *libellus* may be used when the poet has some special type of *libellus* in mind. Cf. Persius i. 120; Juvenal i. 86; Phaedrus, iv. 7. 3; Ovid *Tr.* i. 11. 1; *ibid.* A. iii. 12. 7; *ibid.* *Ex. P.* i. 1. 3; *F.* i. 724; *Ibis* 51 and 641; Statius, *Epist. ad Stellam*: *hos libellos*, qui mihi subito calore et quadam festinandi voluptate fluxerant (of his *Silvae*). Barta gives over sixty cases in which Martial uses the word—very often of his own work.<sup>2</sup>

#### *charta, chartae*

Horace *Satt.* i. 4. 101 (of his satires), i. 10. 4 (of the fourth satire). Horace applies this word to his odes also; cf. c. iv. 8. 21; iv. 9. 31; *Epp.* i. 13. 6. Lucretius applies the term to the work of Epicurus; cf. *Lucr.* iii. 10. In addition note Catull. lxxviii. 46 (of this elegy); xxxvi. 1 and 20 (of the *Annales Volusi*); *Ciris* 62 Vollmer's ed. (Maeoniae . . . *chartae*); Phaedrus iv, *Epilog.* to *Particula*, *chartis* nomen victuris meis (of his fables). Martial uses the term often both of his own epigrams and the poetic work of others; cf. i. 25. 7, post te . . . victurae *cartae* (of the poems of Faustinus); iv. 31. 4, *cartis* meis. So vii. 44. 7; viii. 24. 2; ix. 76. 10, etc.

#### *ludo*

Horace i. 10. 37, *haec ego ludo* (cf. 139, *illudo chartis*). Both the verb *ludo*<sup>3</sup> and the noun *lusus* are not infrequently applied to poetic efforts, usually of the lighter sort; cf. Catullus i. 2, *multum lusimus* (of light erotic verse); so lxxviii. 17, *multa satis lusi*; *Culex* 1 ff., *Lusimus . . . lusimus* (of the "joke"-epyll); *Ciris* 19, *quamvis interdum ludere nobis . . . liceat*. . . .

Ovid *Tr.* ii. 223, *lusibus . . . ineptis* (of his erotic verse); A.A. iii. 809, *lusus habet finem*!

<sup>1</sup> On Propert. ii. 34; Ov. *Tr.* i. 7 and 11 see below, pp. 462, 465.

<sup>2</sup> Catullus i. 8 *quidquid hoc libelli*, etc., probably refers to a book of light lyrics (*nugae*), or at least to a definite poetic libellus, cf. xiv. 12.

<sup>3</sup> On the use of the verb *ludo* for poetic composition cf. Barta's first program, pp. 12-13.



Martial i. 4. 7, *innocuos lusus* (of his epigrams); cf. vi. 85. 9; iv. 49. 2, etc., and especially ix. 84. 3, *haec ego Pieria ludebam tutus in umbra*.

Propertius ii. 34. 85, *haec quoque perfecto ludebat Iasone Varro* (of elegy).  
Vergil, *G.* iv. 565, *carmina qui lusi pastorum* (of the *Bucolics*).

Barta's lists in spite of their fulness are not complete. It is clear that the Roman poets habitually used an exceedingly varied terminology and that terms more or less vague often occur even when they had in mind a poem or poetry of a definite kind.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes the vague and the generic terms are found side by side, as in Hor. *Sat.* ii. 1; sometimes there are no generic terms at all, but the vaguer terms are sufficiently defined by special modifiers or by the general context, as in Hor. *Satt.* i. 4 and 10. Horace merely illustrates the general practice—he is indeed one of the best illustrations, because of the varied nature of his poetical work. Those manifestations of the habit which occur in the *Satires* are, therefore, not peculiar; they are merely part of the general practice. The facts within the *Satires* are not primarily chance—Professor Hendrickson is right in rejecting this explanation<sup>2</sup>—but they are a matter of "taste in the choice of literary expressions," and certainly the desire "to avoid a technical designation" had some influence on this choice.

But it may be said that the vague terminology occurring in those parts of Roman poetry which are not immediately concerned with a genre stands on a different level from that of Horace's *Satires* i. 4 and 10, and ii. 1, which are concerned with a genre, and this is a fair objection to many of the passages thus far cited. The general practice is clear, but can it be shown that this general practice

<sup>1</sup> Lucilius falls into line with the other poets. It is often impossible to say that Lucilius is speaking of his own work, but it is certain that in general he used a varied terminology for poetic compositions whether speaking of his own poems or inserting his verses into the mouths of characters who mention poetry. The references in Marx's *Index* show this: *opus* (342); *versus* (688, his own verses; cf. 591, 411, 1087, 1036, 480, *Homeri versibus*); *haec* (596, his own writings; cf. 610, 696, 762, 1009); *charta* or *chartus* (709, *Socratici carti*, 1085 *claris . . . cartis*); *poema* (339 ff., the famous definition of *poema* and *poesis*, 1013, apparently his own); *ludus* (1039, *ludo ac sermonibus*, probably his own poems; cf. 1015, 1016); *schedium* (1279, probably of his own poems). Professor Ingersoll supplementing Marx's evidence has shown very interestingly that *schedium* was applied by Lucilius to his own work, but the facts I am presenting seem to show that this word was merely one of the numerous terms used by Lucilius and not a generic term.

<sup>2</sup> It is probably chance that *satura* does not occur for us before Horace *Sat.* ii. 1. 1 (see below).

persists even where the Roman poets are dealing with a genre? Is Horace's unprecise terminology for satire, employed in poems dealing with the nature of satire, peculiar, or is it paralleled in program poems of other poets who are dealing with other genres? The attentive reader will already have noticed that many of the preceding citations occur in program passages analogous to those satires on which Professor Hendrickson bases so much of his argument, and these passages must now be supplemented and placed in a clearer light. We cannot expect to find close parallels in the drama, the epic, or the pure lyric, since the very nature of these *genera* precludes free expression of the poet's conception of his work.<sup>1</sup> In elegy, didactic poetry, the lighter lyric, the epigram, and the fable we have a more promising field. Elegy holds a foremost position in this question because of its history, in which there are many analogies to that of satire, and because the elegist, like the satirist, may discuss his work with a great deal of freedom. The elegists differ, of course, in the relative frequency with which they touch upon this theme. Propertius and Ovid are fond of it, Tibullus gives it decidedly less attention—just as in satire there is a marked difference between Horace (and probably Lucilius) on the one hand and Persius and Juvenal on the other. Moreover the tendencies of the period in which the poet worked had a strong influence. Professor Hendrickson has been foremost in pointing out that Horace was writing his satires at a time when the whole theory of satire was the subject of lively discussion. The same is true of elegy, and at the same period. If the elegies of Gallus were extant, we should be able to push the analogy still farther. The whole period beginning about the year 40 B.C. was one of storm and stress in literature, continuing and supplementing many of the questions which had arisen earlier but had been thrust aside by the civil war. After the battle with the sword the battle of the books ensued. The poets were studying more carefully than ever before the nature of their work, comparing it with that of their predecessors and contemporaries both Greek and Roman, and trying to define it by contrast not only with other poems of the same *genus*,

<sup>1</sup> The prologues form an exception—notably those of Terence. There also we find precise and unprecise terms side by side; cf. also Plautus *Bacch.* 214, *Epidicum* . . . *fabulam*, and the prologues of the *Amph.*, *Poen.*, *Casina*, etc.

but also with other *genera* as such. Hence the everlasting contrast of epic and other kinds which meets the reader in Horace, Propertius, and Ovid. The pressure of patronage had its effect. "Write the *res invicti Caesaris*," is the appeal of the patron, but the poet usually answers that he is not a writer of epic, but of satire, elegy—anything rather than epic. Hence the starting-point of many a program poem, for the poet defines his work in telling why he is especially adapted to it and in contrasting it with another genre. It is not necessary here to survey any considerable number of these poems. I select a few which support my general position.<sup>1</sup>

Propertius ii. 34 (Rothstein) is in many ways a close parallel to the program satires of Horace.<sup>2</sup> The poet begins with the faithless act of his friend Lynceus as a concrete illustration of the power of love, not only over friends, but also poets. No type of poetry will aid Lynceus except that in which Propertius is king—erotic elegy. Then, dropping Lynceus and the episode with which the elegy opens, he passes to a general contrast between his own work and that of Vergil, which he eulogizes, and closes with an assertion that erotic elegy also has its proper sphere and the reward of fame. In the course of his pronouncements he mentions numerous genres—didactic poetry, Alexandrian elegy, epic, tragedy, and of course his own erotic elegy. His terminology is usually vague and never precisely technical. The *Aetia* of Callimachus are *non inflati somnia Callimachi* (32). Tragedy is *Aeschyleo . . . verba coturno*—to take the clearest reference (41). The mere names of poets are used: Philetas, Antimachus, Homer, etc. But especially in the long passage on Vergil (61–80) and in the closing lines on his own work we find a very close parallel to the manner of Horace. Vergil's works are all designated by the usual vague terms—the famous announcement of the *Aeneid* (63–66), the *Bucolics* (67–76), the *Georgics* (77–78)—all periphrastically expressed; and when he arrives at his own work, a passage that seems "fairly to clamor" for at least a fairly precise term, what do we find?

<sup>1</sup> A convenient summary of many features of the program poem may be found in G. Riedner's *Typische Äusserungen der römischen Dichter über ihre Begabung, ihren Beruf, und ihre Werke*, Nürnberg, 1903, but he does not discuss terminology.

<sup>2</sup> It was the memory of this elegy that first raised strong doubts in my mind about the validity of Professor Hendrickson's argument.

non tamen *haec* ulli venient ingrata legenti,  
sive in amore rudis sive peritus erit.

*haec* quoque perfecto ludebat Iasone Varro,  
Varro Leucadiae maxima flamma suae;  
*haec* quoque lascivi cantarunt scripta Catulli,  
Lesbia quis ipsa notior est Helena  
*haec* etiam docti confessa est pagina Calvi  
cum caneret miserae funera Quintiliae.  
et . . . . . Gallus

Cynthia quin etiam versu laudata Properti,  
*hos* inter si me ponere Fama volet.

The pronominal term, as vague in itself as possible, parallels exactly Horace's *haec ego ludo* (i. 10. 37), *hoc erat quod* (46)—indeed both poets close a program poem at the end of a book with similar broadsides of the same pronoun, cf. the end of Propertius' poem with the end of Horace i. 10, especially vss. 82, 83, 88, 92.<sup>1</sup> In both poems there is a contrast with epic and other genres—even with Vergil. Both poets appeal to restricted circles of readers. The pronouns and other vague terms which refer to the poet's own work are rendered clear in both by the development of the thought and by the contexts in which they stand, but neither poet has previously used any generic or very precise term for his own work. In fact Propertius, although in the first two books he often touches on his conception of elegy, has nowhere provided us with so thoroughgoing a discussion of elegy as we have in Horace i. 4 of satire. It is not until iv. 1. 135 that he uses the generic *elegi*, the only occurrence of the word—late in his work just as *satura* occurs relatively late in Horace's *Satires*.<sup>2</sup>

Now nobody will deny that the Roman elegists before Propertius knew a generic term for elegy, but it was not necessary to use such a term even in contexts that seem to us "fairly to clamor" for it. It

<sup>1</sup> There is good reason to believe that there were similar passages in Lucilius; cf. especially the opening of Book xxvi (Marx), where Lucilius speaks of the type of reader he desires, using *haec* (596) of his writings (repeated 610). The thought suggested by 1009, 1012, 1013 is similar.

<sup>2</sup> One has to gather the elements of Propertius' conception from many elegies and passages. Tibullus uses *elegi* once, and in Ovid it is not common in view of the bulk of his work. Barta cites four cases.

was not even necessary to make one of these terms part of the title of an elegiac *libellus*. There is evidence, indeed, that this was not usually done. In the same way Horace did not use the precise term *satura* even when discussing the nature of the *genre* nor did he use it in his title, although he knew and everybody knew that his *Sermones*<sup>1</sup> belonged to the genre, satire. Indeed, the satirists, even after the period when Professor Hendrickson thinks that *satura* was an accepted term, use the word just as rarely as Horace. The word does not occur in Persius at all and only four times in Juvenal, although the latter's work contains more than double the number of lines comprised in the *Satires* of Horace. Moreover nearly all the other precise and generic terms for poetry in Latin occur in the poets very infrequently. Barta classifies them all under "rarer terms."

The first satire of Persius is a close parallel in many ways to Horace i. 4 and 10. Persius is writing a program satire in which, like Horace, he has occasion to mention many kinds of literature, including satire and his own work. There is the same combination of vague and precise terms: vs. 31, *dia poemata*; 43, *carmina*; 45-46, *si . . . quid aptius . . . hoc* (of satire); 67, *opus in mores* (satire); 76-78, *Brisaei . . . venosus liber Atti . . . Pacuvius Antiopa* (drama); 114 ff. (various allusions to satire), *sequitur Lucilius urbem . . . Flaccus . . . libelle . . . hoc ridere meum . . . aspice et haec*, etc. Precise are the title *Ilias* (50) and *elegidia* (51).

But this paper is not primarily an investigation; it is rather the presentation of a point of view. I refrain, therefore, from amassing more evidence on this point. The inevitable conclusion is not that *satura* is missing from Horace *Satt.* i. 4 and 10 because it was not yet an accepted term, but that both its absence and Horace's vague and periphrastic terminology are merely part of the usual poetic manner of the Romans and that no inference can be drawn from this manner as to the date at which *satura* became an accepted term. In view of the treatment of technical and precise terms by other poets *satura* occurs quite as often and quite as early in Horace as we are entitled to expect. Indeed the occurrence in ii. 1. 1 is not due to any feeling on the part of Horace that he could then use it because

<sup>1</sup> The increasing influence on Roman literature of the diatribe probably influenced Horace in the choice of *sermo* as a title.

it was an accepted term, but is a part of the mock formality with which the poet consults old Trebatius. Lawyers are among those uncomfortable people who "call you down" for loose and inexact language. Horace knew this, as the whole satire proves. The legal term for satire was *satura* and had to be used in addressing a lawyer! The occurrence of the term in this passage, therefore, is due to artistic considerations.<sup>1</sup>

Professor Hendrickson's second point may be briefly dismissed. There is no positive proof that Varro or Verrius Flaccus discussed the literary term *satura*, and the term does not occur in Varro's extant writings, although it is difficult to explain away the natural inferences based on the titles of the *Menippeae* and on Varro's lost work *De compositione saturarum*.<sup>2</sup> But like the absence of the term in Ennius and Lucilius the point is negative. Even if it could be proved that neither Ennius nor Lucilius employed the term *satura*, I would not grant that this term was not applied to their satires long before the time of Horace's literary activity. In fact, the entire argument based on what Ennius and Lucilius may, according to Marx and others, have called their satires excites my skepticism. Such argument casts on one side as mere inventions of the grammarians all citations of the fragments of Ennius and Lucilius as satires (*in satura*, *saturis*, etc.), that is, we are asked to believe that the term *satura* was attached to the satires of these poets by grammarians who did not succeed in their fell purpose until after the time of Horace—and all this when there are only a score of fragments of Ennius that we are fairly certain belonged to his satires, when

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kiessling-Heinze, *ad loc.* Leo (*Götting. gelehrt. Anz.* 1906, p. 859) remarks that the *lex operis*, in Horace's phrase, goes back to Lucilius.

<sup>2</sup> I need not dwell on these points because they have been urged by others; cf. especially Leo, *op. cit.* (preceding note); F. Lommatzsch, *Bu.* 139 (1908); E. Bickel, *ibid.* 140 (1908), p. 222; and most recently R. H. Webb in the last number of this journal, pp. 177-89. Leo's statement is brief and to the point: A comparison of Diomedes and Festus proves that Varro not only discussed but used *satura* as a generic term—if it is necessary to prove this of a man who wrote *saturae* and *De compositione saturarum*. The phrase *per saturam* implies a noun *satura*. Horace's references show that he was using a term long current. The grammarians, when they name Lucilius' works at all, call them *saturae*, and Horace's *sermones* and *epistulae*. *Poemata per saturam*, etc., do not occur applied to Lucilius. Diomedes (Varro) shows how Ennius arrived at the term *satura* and Kiessling has correctly stated the development after Ennius. (Leo evidently puts some trust in the bases of our knowledge.)



the once voluminous work of Lucilius is in veritable rags, and when at best the technical term could hardly have occurred often in their writings. Such argument neglects the inevitable tendency of all that grammatical activity which was well begun before Lucilius began to write and was in full blast during his lifetime as his own fragments prove. Back of this Roman activity and that of the Greeks who flocked to Rome lies that of the Alexandrian age, whose grammarians and critics named and docketed every sort of literature known to them and all the features of that literature. Their successors at Rome during the second and first centuries merely carried on the same methods—with which Professor Hendrickson himself has often dealt and to which he alludes in the article under discussion. It is inconceivable that these classifiers should not have settled on a generic term for the compositions of Lucilius until sixty or seventy years after his death even if we assume that neither he nor Ennius called their satires generically *saturae*. Our extant evidence points clearly to the views that this generic term was *satura*. This evidence begins, indeed, so far as the actual occurrence of the word is concerned, with Horace *Sat.* ii. 1. 1, but we must remember that the grammatical literature of the preceding seventy years and more—the very literature in which we might expect to find the technical term—is imperfectly known to us. Even the satires of Varro Atacinus and the *quidam alii* to whom Horace refers in that very concise history of the genre (i. 10, 46–47) are lost. We are restricted to references in more elevated kinds of prose such as the *Rerum rusticarum libri* of Varro, the *Auctor ad Herennium*, and Cicero's essays. It will be worth while to glance at these *testimonia*, since here again Professor Hendrickson's method is too narrow.

There are about forty references to Lucilius by name (noun or adjective) which antedate those of Horace—if we are very liberal, we may count nearly fifty. In these forty I include two or three passages which are themselves later than Horace, but contain allusions to Lucilius which are certainly earlier than Horace. The meager total is probably due to the fact that Lucilius was not used in the rhetorical schools as were Ennius, Plautus, etc., for example, in metaphrases. In the great majority of these references we could hardly look for a generic term, first, because the contexts are such that there is no



occasion for such a term; secondly, because nearly all the passages occur in *genera* in which according to Roman practice technical terms are rare. For the question here again is not how the work of Lucilius alone is alluded to by Roman writers, but how in general these writers allude to Roman poets of whom Lucilius is only one. I shall revert to this point. First let us examine the four passages in which we might with some reason look for an occurrence of the term *satura*. These are:

1. Varro *Rer. rust. liber* iii. 2. 17: L. Abuceius, homo, ut scitis, adprime doctus, cuius Luciliano caractere sunt libelli. This is the passage of which Marx and Hendrickson make so much.
2. Varro *De l. l.* v. 17 (Goetz-Schoell, 1910): A qua bipartita divisione Lucilius [Lucretius, MSS] suorum unius et viginti librorum initium fecit hoc "aetheris et terrae, etc." Scaliger's correction of Lucretius to Lucilius is certain.
3. Suetonius *De gramm.* 14: R. Curtius Nicias adhaesit Cn. Pompeio et C. Memmio . . . . fuit et M. Ciceronis familiaris. . . . Huius de Lucilio libros etiam Santra [*satura* or *satyra*, MSS] comprobant. It is uncertain when Curtius Nicias wrote his work on Lucilius, but it may quite possibly have been before 40 B.C.<sup>1</sup>
4. Suetonius *De gramm.* 2: After describing the activity of the early grammarians—ut carmina parum adhuc divulgata vel defunctorum amicorum vel si quorum aliorum probassent, diligentius retractarent ac legendo commentandoque et ceteris nota facerent—Suetonius gives some illustrations closing thus: ut Laelius Archelaus Vectiusque Philocomus Lucili saturas sc. pronuntiabant <familiaribus suis> [familiaris sui Marx with MSS], quas legisse se apud Archelaum Pompeius Lenaeus, apud Philocomum Valerius Cato praedicant. These two lecturers on Lucilius must have been at their work early in the first century B.C.

I exclude from these select passages Trebonius' letter to Cicero (*Ad fam.* xii. 16) which both Marx and Hendrickson would include. The phraseology of the letter is obviously of the usual untechnical sort and there is an intentional contrast between the name *Lucilio* and the pronoun *nobis* which would have been spoiled, if Trebonius had said *Saturis Lucili* or the like.

Suetonius (*De gr.* 2) uses the term *Lucili saturas* which Marx and Hendrickson would of course not trace back to Varro or to his contemporaries of the Ciceronian age. If Varro himself in the first or

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hillscher. *JJB*, Suppbd. XVIII (1892), p. 177.

second passage above cited had only used the same phrase, he would have spared our pains. As it is, instead of inferring too much from his silence, we must ask: What are the chances that *satura* would have been used in such passages as these, if it was then an accepted generic term? For the period involved this question resolves itself into two others: How are the poets referred to in the technical prose work (Varro, *De l. l.*)? and how are they referred to in more elevated prose (*Auctor. ad Herenn.*, Cicero, Varro's *Rer. rust.*)? Only by ascertaining the manner of citation as it concerns all the poets can we understand the manner of citation as it concerns one of the poets. I do not pretend to completeness on this point, for I am striving to make clear a tendency which would hardly be the clearer if based on exact statistics. This tendency will become evident to anybody who will devote a few hours to the study of the references contained in the indices of Marx's edition of the *Auctor ad Herennium*, 1894, Goetz and Schoell's edition of the *De lingua latina*, 1910, Keil's of the *Rer. rusticar.*, together with Merguet's *Lexicons* to Cicero's speeches and philosophical works, and Orelli's *Onomasticon*. The results are surprising. We expect a poet to use any term save a technical one in the majority of instances; we expect the same practice, though not to the same degree, in the more elevated kinds of prose; but we do not expect a grammarian to cheat us of his categories. He, at least, ought not to be afraid to call a spade a spade—and call it so often. But such a preconception based on the accurate habits of our modern tribe of grammarians and critics will prove a misconception if you try to apply it to Varro. In the *De lingua latina* the great Roman scholar refers hundreds of times to poets and poetical compositions of all sorts. Ennius, for example, is alluded to upward of seventy times. Often he does not even give the poet's name and we must identify the fragment or allusion as best we can. When he gives the name, we have all sorts of vague formulae: *apud Ennium* , *ut ait Ennius*, *significat Ennius quod ait* , *Ennius scribit* , *quo Ennius usus* , *Enni illud* , *eiusdem* (after having mentioned the name) , *quod Ennius cum ait* , *Ennius item*, etc. Not a single genre at which Ennius tried his hand—and he worked in nearly all the poetic genres—is mentioned in these references. Two fragments of the *Satires* (?) are given—eight, if we include the *Sota* and

*Epicharmus*, as I should not—but they are introduced by *apud Ennium*, *ut ait Ennius*, etc., in the usual fashion. The clearest references are those to the drama: *ut apud Ennium in Medea, in Andromacha* (no name), *dicit Andromeda . . . et Agammemno* (no name). Only one of Ennius' other works is cited in this way: *Epicharmus Enni Proserpinam appellat*. All told, there are only half a dozen citations as definite as this, and allusion by title, as workers in ancient literature know full well, does not fix the *genus*.

The references to Ennius are typical<sup>1</sup> of Varro's method (?) all through his work. Rarely, very rarely, we find a generic term (sometimes with the author's name omitted!). Here follow those I have noted: v. 25, *Afranius in Togata*; vi. 19, *Togata praetexta* (sic G-S)—no name of a poet; vii. 95 *apud Matium in Atellanis*<sup>2</sup>; cf. vii. 29 and 84; vi. 55, *ab eodem verbo fari fabulae, ut tragoediae et comoediae*, dictae; vi. 58, *actores novam fabulam cum agunt*; cf. 77 (*bis*); vi. 89, *Boeotia ostendit quam co[m]m<o>ediam A<qui>lii esse dicunt*; vi. 76, *scenici plerique*; vii. 10, *Papinii epigrammation*; v. 69, *physici dicunt*.

This is a meager showing of generic terms for a work that is fairly stuffed with references to the poets—a veritable *genus farciminis poetici*! The numerous precise terms for various types of the drama are alone fairly well represented. *Epos, elegi, epigramma* (cf. *epigrammation*), *lyricus, melos* or *melicus*, etc., do not occur at all, though Varro knew all these terms. Is it surprising that in less than a score<sup>3</sup> of certain references to the satires of Ennius and Lucilius the term *satura* does not occur?

If Varro's references in this technical grammatical work are thus lacking in precision we can hardly hope for better things in more elevated kinds of prose. The *Rerum rusticarum libri* represent Varro's most artistic prose. The difference in style and tone as

<sup>1</sup> Vahlen, *Ennius*, p. xxxii, makes some sensible remarks about Varro's manner of citation in the *De l. l.* He cites *non ut alii grammatici . . . sed ut homo doctus, qui doctis hominibus scribit*. He never mentions the *Annales* and names very few of the tragedies of Ennius although citing these works very often. Vahlen attributes the absence of *saturae* or *saturarum libri* in the case of Lucilius to the same habit.

<sup>2</sup> If these are not titles?

<sup>3</sup> Two references to possible satires of Ennius, fourteen to Lucilius by name. Six other references, where the name does not occur, are assigned to Lucilius.

compared with the *De lingua latina* is very great. The aged scholar here makes a mighty effort to cast aside the apparatus of his philological manner and treat his subject with the skill of a *littérateur*. If he has not succeeded, he has at least produced a very readable essay—far removed from the formless statement of facts which characterizes the *De lingua latina*. It is a wider difference than we should find between an article by one of us on "The Dative in Plautus" for the *Philologus* and another on "Trouting in the Canadian Rockies" for the *Century*. This effort to conform in the *Rerum rusticarum libri* to the stylistic requirements of the genre explains sufficiently to my mind the much-exploited phrase *Luciliano caractere libelli*: the phrase represents what the old scholar regarded as "the lighter touch"! And it is in character from a man who wrote a work *Περὶ χαρακτήρων*.

But how does Varro refer in his agricultural dialogue to other poets? In Keil's *Index* about a dozen poets are named and there are altogether fourteen or fifteen references to poetic compositions of various sorts. Only once in the entire essay does Varro use the name of a poetic genre (iii. 16. 4, Archelaus in epigrammate), and only two other certain references to poetry are at all precise (ii. 11. 11, ut apud Caecilium in Hypobolimaeo . . . . apud Terentium in Heautontimorumenos). Thus the phrase *Luciliano caractere libelli* is not at all abnormal, so far as the failure to include a generic term is concerned.

The manner of the *Auctor ad Herennium* is much less exact in this particular than that of Varro or Cicero. With the spirit of a braggadocio and a robber who purloins the goods of others and displays them as his own he carries the intentional suppression of names, a trait familiar enough in Varro and Cicero, to an extreme. Not a single Greek writer of prose or poetry is mentioned by name although the *Auctor* is indebted to many Greeks for the material and illustrations in his own work.<sup>1</sup> With the Roman writers he is somewhat more generous as behooves one who vaunts his Romanism so insistently, but he is far from liberal. Marx's *Index auctorum latinorum* shows that only seven Roman writers are mentioned by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Marx's *Prolegomena* (1894), pp. 112 ff., especially p. 115. Time has wreaked a curiously just vengeance in suppressing the *Auctor's* own name.

name—not all poets. There are, as in Varro and Cicero, a good many nameless citations—I count about a dozen—and even where names are given, the allusions are sometimes to facts in the lives of the poets, not to their works. Thus our material here is meager, but the tendency is the same that we have traced in Varro: the *Auctor* uses a generic term in only one of his references to poets (iv. 4. 7 <Enni> de tragoediis . . . aut de Pacuvianis)<sup>1</sup> and his terminology in all save two or three references is far from precise.<sup>2</sup>

A very brief discussion of the manner of Cicero's references to the poets will suffice for my present purpose, since the presentation of all the facts from Orelli's *Onomasticon* and Merguet's *Lexicons* bearing on our point could hardly alter the general results. Cicero is like his friend Varro in this matter. The general truth is well stated by Vahlen (*Opusc.* I, 88 ff., originally published 1879–80): Etenim Cicero . . . magnus amator antiquae poesis Latinae . . . sed versus citat non ut grammaticus verborum curiosus sed ut qui scientibus scribit quos verbo admonuisse satis sit, alienaque cum suis saepe ita committit vix ut saturam agnoscas.<sup>3</sup> Vahlen is interested in the question because of its bearing on textual problems, but his statement might have been made on purpose for my argument. If we bear in mind the great variety and the great extent of Cicero's writings together with the very numerous references to the poets, we shall find generic terms surprisingly infrequent. The only one that can be called common is *fabula*. *Comœdia* (*comicus*) and *tragoedia* (*tragicus*) are represented fairly well. There are a few cases of *epigramma* and of *elogium* (=epitaph). And here we step off into the vague. Of *epos* (*epicus*), *elegi*, *lyricus*, *melos*, *Atellana*, *praetexta*, *palliata*, *togata*, I have found no cases. There is one

<sup>1</sup> Enni is restored in this passage with probability. Marx, as usual, is not content with the solid and reasonable interpretation of the *Auctor's* manner of citation which he himself points out, but must skate on the thin ice of theory whither I cannot follow him.

<sup>2</sup> Allusions to poetic *genera*, whether connected or not with a poet's name, are very rare. I count five or six only.

<sup>3</sup> The paper by M. Radin on "Literary References in Cicero's Orations" (*Class. Jour.* VI, 209–17) reiterates some of the main peculiarities of Cicero's citations—especially the tendency (purposed in the speeches) to deprecate special knowledge. I have not seen E. Schollmeyer's dissertation, *Quid Cicero de poetis Romanorum iudicaverit* (1884), or W. Zillinger *Cicero und die altrömischen Dichter* (1911), Würzburg.

case of *neniae*, one of *melici poetae*, one or two of *mimus* (=a play). But these exceptions prove the rule.<sup>1</sup> Writers of elevated prose then as now thought it sufficient to allude to a poet without classifying him.<sup>2</sup> Significant in this connection and in connection with Vahlen's remark is the common type of citation *illud Enni* (*Plauti, Pacuvi*, etc.)—an admission that the words quoted are familiar. Hardly less significant is the commonest type of all—the identification of a poet with his work: *Plautus, apud Plautum, ut Plautus ait*, etc. This is still the prevalent manner of allusion to the great poets, but the educated Roman knew his "great ones" far better than we know ours. It is easy, therefore, to explain why Varro even in his *De lingua latina* uses nothing more distinctive than the name *Ennius* in fifty out of seventy or more references to that great pioneer of Roman literature. In fact to Varro, to Cicero, to Horace, and the rest Homer was Homer, Plautus was Plautus, and—Lucilius was Lucilius. This naturally suggests Professor Hendrickson's last point: that for Varro, Cicero, Velleius, etc., the work of Lucilius is "as individual as the man himself."

The refutation of this apparent argument has already been partly given: the citation of Lucilius as *Lucilius*, the identification of the man with his work, does not show that Lucilius was treated as especially "individual," for all the other poets are cited in the same way. We know that the work of Lucilius bore the mark of a strong individuality—this must be true of an *inventor* such as Lucilius was—but there are no unusual *testimonia* to this fact before the time of

<sup>1</sup> Professor Hendrickson infers from the vagueness with which the name of Lucilius figures in comparison with other prominent names in the works of Cicero that Cicero knew no generic term for the poet's work. This inference becomes very improbable when we remember that no other early poet of equal prominence confined himself to a single genre like that of Lucilius which was practiced by very few and was not likely to be confused with anything else. If in the citations of other poets vagueness is the rule and is no indication, as we have seen, of the non-existence of a generic term, Lucilius cannot be viewed as an exception since vagueness in a reference to Lucilius could have caused no misunderstanding as to his genre.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Hendrickson (note, p. 135) considers it a "curious and noteworthy circumstance" that Cicero cites a fragment of Naevius as *in Naevi ludo*, whereas Verrius alludes to the same as *in satyra*. This is, of course, no indication that *satyra* was not applied to this work of Naevius until the time of Verrius, for aside from the uncertainty whether the two passages refer to the same work of Naevius, the practice of Roman writers makes it perfectly natural that Cicero in an *essay* should use a descriptive term, *ludus*, and Verrius, a grammarian, the precise term, *satyra*.



Horace—nothing so abnormal in the references to his work that we are at all justified in fancying Lucilius as a sort of generic individuality from which little by little the *genus* became separated. Such a theory might find a place somewhere in the literary infancy of Greece, for example, but not in the age of Cicero or of Horace when grammatical and critical methods were already old and well established. In order to prove that the individuality of Lucilius' work was so powerful that it served for two generations to hold in solution, so to speak, a generic term, it is necessary to show that there is something very peculiar and impressive in the *testimonia* before the time of Horace. This is hardly possible; but even if it were, the fact could be used on either side of the present question. The marked individuality and the many unique features of Lucilius' work are facts which to my mind, for example, render it not less likely, but more likely that a generic term for that work was established long before the time of Horace. Other early Roman poets had been *inventores* albeit not in the same fashion and degree as Lucilius and some of their "inventions" enjoyed considerable vogue for a long period, but the Romans had no difficulty in naming them at once and that too with names which were often Roman; cf. *togata*, *praetexta*, etc. None of these genres was so permeated with Italian traits, so instinct with the Italian spirit, as that of Lucilius—none had the vitality of that *genus* whose form and dominant characteristics he established for later ages; but there is no evidence, aside from the late appearance of the term *satura*, that the Romans stood in amaze at this creation and for seventy or a hundred years failed to recognize its generic character by a distinctive name. On the contrary there is good evidence that the *genus* was not only practiced in the interval between Lucilius and Horace, but that the grammarians, the *nomenclatores*, were at work upon it. If the early Romans could invent a minute Roman terminology for new forms of the drama, it is not pressing analogy too much to argue that they and their descendants agreed upon a generic term for satire.

I have tried to show that the facts on which Professor Hendrickson bases his views concerning *satura* are merely part of a large number of similar facts concerning Roman literature in general. Viewed in this broader way they are perfectly normal and are there-



fore devoid of the special significance which has been attached to them. If then they do not serve to establish the theory of a very late development of *satura* as a literary term, we may return with greater confidence to the old view which attributes the use of the term to Ennius and Lucilius. This view, in spite of the brilliant heresy of Marx and Hendrickson, still holds its ground with the majority of those who have worked in the field of satire, and new champions, not always with new arguments, are constantly arising to defend it.

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## NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

### XENOPHON *HELLENICA* I. 1. 27-29

After the battle of Cyzicus, Hermocrates and the other commanders of the Syracusan force at Antandrus learn that they have been exiled by the popular party (οἱ φεύγοντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου), and resign their command. Xenophon (*Hell.* I. 1. 27-29) describes their leave-taking as follows:

- Συνγαλέσαντες οὖν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν στρατιώτας Ἑρμοκράτους προηγορούντος\* ἀπωλοφύροντο τὴν ἑαυτῶν συμφορὰν, ὥς ἀδίκως φεύγοντες ἅπαντες παρὰ τὸν νόμον· παρήνεσάν τε προθύμους εἶναι καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὥσπερ τὰ πρότερα, καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς πρὸς τὰ αἰεὶ παραγγελλόμενα, ἐλθέσθαι δὲ ἐκέλευον
- 28 ἄρχοντας, μέχρι\*\* ἂν ἀφίκωνται οἱ ἡρημένοι αὐτ' ἐκείνων. οἱ δ' ἀναβοήσαντες ἐκέλευον ἐκείνους ἄρχειν, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τριήραρχοι καὶ οἱ ἐπιβάται καὶ οἱ κυβερνήται. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν δεῖν στασιάζειν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν· εἰ δέ τις ἐπικαλοῖται αὐτοῖς, λόγον ἔφασαν χρῆναι δίδόναι, μεμνημένους ὅσας τε ναυμαχίας αὐτοῖς† καθ' αὐτοὺς νενικήκατε καὶ ναὺς εἰλήφατε, ὅσα τε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀήττητοι γεγόνατε ἡμῶν ἡγουμένων, τάξιν ἔχοντες τὴν κρατίστην διὰ τε τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀρετὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν
- 29 προθυμίαν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπάρχουσιν. οὐδενὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπαιτιωμένου, δεομένων ἔμειναν ἕως ἀφίκοντο οἱ αὐτ' ἐκείνων στρατηγοί, κτλ.

\* προηγορούντος V: προηγούμενος cet.

\*\* μέχρις codd.

† αὐτοῖς τε codd. praeter C.

A number of eminent scholars have given their attention to this passage, and sweeping changes have been made in the received text, but so far no very satisfactory interpretation has been suggested.<sup>1</sup> Objections to the traditional reading are based upon two grounds: (1) that the phrase λόγον δίδόναι in the sense of "to grant a hearing," "to accord the privilege of speaking," is unusual; (2) that the appeal on the part of the generals contained in the words μεμνημένων . . . ὑπάρχουσιν is entirely uncalled for after the display of loyalty on the part of the soldiers which is described in ¶ 28. I hope to show that neither of the objections is based upon a real difficulty, and that the text as it stands affords a satisfactory sense.

<sup>1</sup> Schenkl places εἰ δέ . . . δίδοναι after ὑπάρχουσιν; Schneider places μεμνημένων . . . ὑπάρχουσιν after αὐτ' ἐκείνων; Dindorf, followed by Sauppe, Breitenbach, et al., after παραγγελλόμενα. Dressel attempted to explain the manuscript reading (*Specim. curarum in Xen. hist. Graec.*, Wiesbaden, 1822, p. 6), and is followed by Cobet, Heiland (*Quaest. Xenophont.*, Stendal, 1856, p. 5), and others. His interpretation rests upon a more than doubtful translation of λόγον . . . δίδοναι (see Breitenbach *ZGW* XI, pp. 133 ff.), and involves the reference of εἰ δέ τις (¶ 28) and οὐδενός . . . ἐπαιτιωμένου (¶ 29) to hypothetical persons who were not στρατιῶται.

1. Λόγον δίδοναι meaning "to grant a hearing" is by no means so unusual as to justify a departure from the reading of the manuscripts, and Xenophon himself again makes use of the phrase in the *Hellenica*.<sup>1</sup>

2. We learn from Thucydides (6. 32-41, especially 38-39) that a few years before this time there existed at Syracuse bitter opposition between the aristocratic party, of which Hermocrates was the leader, and the δῆμος. This makes fairly certain what might have been inferred from the exile of the generals by the δῆμος, that the generals belonged to the aristocratic faction. We should expect to find the trierarchs, the epibates, and probably the helmsmen, for the most part aristocratically inclined; that this was indeed the case is clearly established later in the course of Xenophon's narrative (*Hell.* I. 1. 29-30). But the common seamen, the oarsmen, who no doubt made up a majority of the force, would generally be democratic in their sympathies. Commentators on the passage have failed to grasp the significance of Xenophon's statement that the trierarchs, the epibates, and the helmsmen were mainly responsible for the demonstration in favor of the generals: καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τριήραρχοι καὶ οἱ ἐπιβάται καὶ οἱ κυβερνήται. This is not a unanimous acclamation which Xenophon has depicted, but an expression which emanated principally from these political adherents of the generals and from which they might reasonably expect a considerable proportion of the soldiery to dissent. Here is the key to the cautious attitude of the generals. They realized that a majority of their force belonged to the very party which had compassed their exile, and feared that some democratic member of the expedition might bring charges against them before their soldiers in case they held over, and that this might result in violence.<sup>2</sup> The appeal to the martial pride of their followers was intended to create sentiment in their favor. The specific request λόγον δίδοναι was the expression of their fear that the soldiers would refuse to listen to any defense.<sup>3</sup> The fact that their men responded to the stirring appeal and unanimously requested them to continue in command until their successors arrived does not impugn the wisdom of their course.

Xenophon's account is entirely consistent and reasonable, though loosely written. The generals convene an assembly and exhort their men to show

<sup>1</sup> 5. 2. 20: ἐδίδσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς συμμάχοις λόγον. Cf. also Dem. 2. 29, 31; 20. 167; 24. 65; Aristoph. *Thes.* 471; see also Thuc. 3. 60; Aeschines 3. 54; 1. 162. Another expression is λόγον προτιθέναι, which is more formal (Xen. *Hell.* 1. 7. 5; Aeschines 2. 65, 66). Cf. λόγου τυγχάνειν (Dem. 18. 13; 19. 26) and λόγον αἰτεῖν (Thuc. 3. 53. 2).

<sup>2</sup> Some commentators understand εἰ δέ . . . ἐπικαλοῖν of charges which would if made be tried at Syracuse. This is erroneous, as the generals could not return to Syracuse while the decree of banishment was in force. The words οὐδενὸς . . . ἐπατιωμένον also favor the interpretation I have suggested in the text.

<sup>3</sup> The Athenian assembly a few years later condemned the generals from Arginusae practically unheard (*Hell.* 1. 7. 5).

themselves faithful and active under the new leaders whom the state may appoint, and meanwhile to elect temporary commanders. The response is a demand, proceeding chiefly from their political friends, that they themselves remain in office till their successors arrive. Without the unanimous assent of the soldiers, they fear to do this, so they deprecate any factious resistance to the will of the state (although apparently they would not be unwilling to remain if the demand were unanimous) and prudently appeal to the men to remember their past services and give them a fair hearing in case anyone in the camp has any charge to bring against them. When no one makes any complaint, but the demand that they remain in office until their successors arrive becomes unanimous, they consent to do so.

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#### THE CASE OF THE MARCELLI

In Cicero's *De Oratore* (i. 39. 176) Crassus, in discussing the importance of knowledge of technical law, says: *Quid? qua de re inter Marcellos et Claudios patricos centumviri iudicarunt, cum Marcelli ab liberti filio stirpe, Claudii patricii eiusdem hominis hereditatem gente ad se dicerent redisse, nonne in ea causa fuit oratoribus de toto stirpis et gentilitatis iure dicendum?*

The explanations that have been offered of this difficult passage are many and various. Two may be given as types.

Roby in his note on the passage in A. S. Wilkins' edition of the *De Oratore*<sup>2</sup> (1895) believes the situation to have been the following.<sup>1</sup>

A slave belonging to a Marcellus had been manumitted and thus, though free, was still attached to the manumittor and his family. His son, however, was *ingenuus*, and therefore had no patron. If this son died, his property would fall, first, to his own immediate heirs; second, to his agnates; third, and finally, would pass by the law of the Twelve Tables to his *gens*. That law runs (*Lex XII Tab. v. 4*, *Bruns Fontes*<sup>7</sup>, p. 23): *Si intestato moritur cui suus heres nec escit, adgnatus proximus familiam habeto: si adgnatus nec escit, gentiles familiam habeto.*

This freedman's son did die intestate, and the question arose: Who are his clansmen? The Claudii were an old clan, subdivided long ago into at least two important branches. One of these, the Marcelli, whatever its origin, was plebeian. Now the Marcelli by virtue of their distinction and age might well claim full gentile rights, and the issue in the case at bar is whether such a claim could be maintained against that of the patrician Claudians to be the only members of the Claudian gens.

Piderit (*De Oratore*<sup>2</sup>, p. 368) gives the following version: A slave of the (patrician) Claudii, belonging as such to their family, is manumitted and enters the family of the Marcelli. Upon the death of this man's son the

<sup>1</sup> Substituted by Wilkins for his own note in previous editions.

Claudii claim the right of patrons, the Marcelli that of relations, "weil er seiner nächsten Abkunft nach (*stirpe*) zu ihnen gehöre."

Most commentators<sup>1</sup> incline toward the theory set forth by Roby that the Marcelli and the Claudii stood opposed as two separate organizations to vindicate against each other the gentile reversion to the estate.<sup>2</sup>

Piderit's version is cited only for his insistence upon the word *stirpe*. Otherwise his suppositions have no determinable relation to the words of the text.

If we examine the passage, one thing at least is plain. The Claudii claim as *gentiles*. Cicero in the *Topica* (6. 29) has given us a vigorously discussed definition of *gentiles*: *Gentiles sunt inter se qui eodem nomine sunt, qui ab ingenuis oriundi sunt, quorum maiorum nemo servitutem servivit, qui capite non sunt deminuti*.

If this definition is accurate—and Cicero cites for it the weighty authority of the pontifex Q. Scaevola—this man can have had no *gentiles* whatever. He would be excluded by both the second and third qualification. The suggestion of Ortolan (*loc. cit.*) that the Claudians may have been *gentiles* to him, while he did not bear that relation toward them, is rendered inadmissible by the words *gentiles inter se*.

However, we need not take the words too literally. The citation of the pontifex Scaevola as authority justifies the assumption that the definition was framed for sacral purposes, where minutiae might well be insisted upon that the practical law would disregard. We may safely suppose that for all ordinary legal relations, an *ingenuus* would be reckoned in the clan of which he bore the name.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So Ortolan, *Expl. historique* (iii. 8) 1051, n. 1, regards the claim of the Claudii as that of a *famille supérieure*; and Greenidge *Roman Legal Procedure*, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> It is very likely that the Marcelli, in numbers, were at least equal to the other Claudii, and that, in popular estimation, the plebeian and patrician families were co-ordinate in importance and even in nobility. So we hear Asconius, in *Scaurianam*, p. 33 (Kiessling), *fuerunt enim duae familiae Claudiae, earum quae Marcellorum appellata est plebeia, quae Pulchrorum patricia*.

It is this double character of the *gens*, as well as the adoption of P. Clodius, to which Cicero alludes when he affects to doubt (*Pro Scauro* 15. 34) whether C. Claudius was patrician or plebeian.

That the Marcelli possessed at least one important privilege of a *gens*, that of the *patronatus* of conquered peoples, we know from the *Verrines*, particularly in *Verr.*, Act II, L. ii. 49. 122: *C. Claudius (Appi filius Pulcher) adhibitis omnibus Marcellis qui tum erant, de eorum sententia leges Halaesius dedit*. This took place in 95 B.C., in the consulship of the very Crassus in whose mouth Cicero puts this discussion.

<sup>3</sup> Besides, Cicero's definition is not quite accurate from the logical point of view for which alone it is introduced. As stated, it would exclude from gentile communion a man who had been captured by the enemy and restored to his rights as a citizen by ransom or escape *iure postliminii*. Boethius in his commentary on this passage of the *Topica* notices this: *Quid si libertorum nepotes civium Romanorum eodem nomine nuncupantur? num gentilitas ulla est? Ne id quidem quoniam ab antiquitate ingenuorum gentilitas ducitur*. Boethius correctly, if somewhat surreptitiously, adds the words *civium Romanorum*. The *servitus* must be a *iusta servitus* under Roman citizens.

Granting that this freedman had *gentiles* and that the *Claudii patricii* asserted their right to be so regarded, was this claim controverted by the Marcelli? If that were the case, the passage would have run: *cum et Marcelli ab liberti filio et Claudii patricii eiusdem hominis hereditatem gente ad se rediisse dicerent*. If anything seems obvious, it is that the two claimed on altogether different legal theories. This is borne out by the phrase *de toto stirpis ac gentilitatis iure* of the following sentence. It might be conceivable that *stirpe* is, in a sense, a variant for *gente*, but *stirps ac gentilitas* is plainly not a doublette.

Besides it would be difficult to find an instance of the use of *stirps* in the sense of family, large or small, i.e., that group of men connected by a real sacral and an assumed blood bond. *Gens* and *familia* are constantly so employed, the former of a large group, the latter, more generally of a large or small one. Further, we find the *domus*, like the Greek *οἰκία*, to describe a rather narrow family group, often the narrowest possible one. All these terms not only have a literary currency in these senses but are so accepted in the more precise terminology of law. *Stirps*, on the contrary, regularly denotes *relationship*, and is used where its English equivalent "stock" would be employed.<sup>1</sup> The natural interpretation of Cicero's words is that the Marcelli claimed as relations, the Claudians as members of the dead man's *gens*.

If as relations, we may ask: What relations? If the intestate's father had been the property of all the Marcelli in common—an *aedituus* of a family shrine, for example—the family, as such, would have been his *patroni* and the relation of *patronus* and *libertus* was a quasi-parental one. But we have no reason for assuming that the *patronatus* extended beyond the person of the enfranchised slave himself;<sup>2</sup> nor can we justify the use of *stirps* in such a connection. If, then, it was an individual Marcellus whose freedman was the intestate's father, it cannot have been the whole family, but a certain number of men of that name, who are the claimants here.

*Stirps* in the sense of relationship is necessarily very broad, and includes not only the agnates of the Twelve Tables, but all who would in later law be known as cognates. In the early empire, the praetor had long modified the rigor of the civil law by allowing, after agnates, the entrance of *cognati* into the inheritance,<sup>3</sup> up to the sixth or even seventh degree.<sup>4</sup> When he began to do so, we do not know, but we do know that the second century B.C. witnessed an enormous activity on the part of the praetors not only in completing and assisting but also in correcting the civil law. It is probable enough that the

<sup>1</sup> The nearest approach to the sense required for the common rendering of the passage is in the expression *in stirpes* and *in capita*, applied to the division of inheritances. This, however, is a very different thing from the use of *stirps* as the equivalent of *familia*.

<sup>2</sup> Ortolan (*op. cit.*, p. 44).

<sup>3</sup> Gaius iii. 25. 30; Ulp. Fg. xxviii. 7; (Ulp.) *Collat.* xvi. viii.

*Filii sobrini sobrinae*—Paul. *Sent.* iv. 11. 7.

portion of the praetor's edict on that subject (*unde cognati*<sup>1</sup>) had become, not indeed tralatitian, but, in substance, of common occurrence in the edicts of successive praetors as early as 150 B.C. The rights of such *cognati* could be enforced under praetorian formulae, and the *lex Aebutia* had opened the court of the urban praetor to these formulae.<sup>2</sup> But the centumviral court was explicitly excepted by the law. There only the older *legis actiones* were available. There would, therefore, have been no scope for such a *litis contestatio* in the proceedings *in iure* as to permit the *iudex* or *recuperatores* to consider the claims of *cognati*. Indeed not even the constitution of the *iudicium* was within the power of the praetor. Recitation of the *verba solemnia* left him no choice but the reference of the matter to the standing *iudicium* of the centumviri.

If not as cognates, the only possible claim that the term *stirps* allows is that of agnates. Is there any set of circumstances under which the Marcelli might be called the *agnati* of the deceased intestate?

Concubinage of female slaves is an inseparable incident of all slave-holding societies,<sup>3</sup> and a common result of such a relation was the emancipation of the slave and her child. Between citizens and slaves there was of course no conceivable *connubium*, and the child of such a slave, though recognized as the offspring of a citizen, was none the less a slave.<sup>4</sup> After emancipation, this child had, of course, no legally enforceable claim upon his natural father. But as we postulate *agnitio* on the part of the father, there would be a real blood tie between this *libertus* and his legitimate brothers of which the law did, in certain respects, take cognizance.<sup>5</sup> One can easily understand the existence of close personal relations, in despite of the bar sinister, between the legitimate and illegitimate children.

If we suppose the deceased intestate to have been the son of such a *libertus*, the sons and grandsons of the original emancipator would be *patrui* and *patruales* to him. Assuming *agnitio* and close association, the Marcelli of this case, *patruales* perhaps of the deceased, may easily have regarded themselves as kinsmen of the dead man and the issue joined here may have been to determine whether a claim so based was valid, whether relationship on the wrong side of the blanket conferred a *ius stirpis* and was not to test the rights of the Marcelli to be called a *gens*. We may find confirmation for our conclusion in the fact stated before, that in 95 B.C.—certainly not far from

<sup>1</sup> Lenel. *Edictum perpetuum* xxiv. B. 3, in Bruns *Fontes*, p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> The date of the *lex Aebutia* is much disputed. The consensus of opinion places it nearer to 150 B.C. than to the later date advocated by some. (Cf. Cuq. in Dar. *Sagl. Dict. des. Ant.*, s.v. "Leges Publicae," p. 1127.) This case of the Marcelli is not likely to have occurred much before 100 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Not, of course, the legal *concubinatus*, which required always a *liberta* or a free woman. Cf. *Digest* xxv. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Ulp. *Fig.* v. 3. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Paul on the Edict, *Digest* 23. 2. 14. 2.



the date of this case—an excellent understanding prevailed between the Claudii *patricii* and the Marcelli, as to certain very highly valued rights—an understanding which is scarcely likely to have existed, if a few years before the two branches were at bitter feud on a question that cannot fail to have aroused bad blood.<sup>1</sup>

MAX RADIN

[I should like to propose a yet different explanation of the case of the Marcelli. Cicero's especial point appears to be that the legal pleader needs a thorough knowledge of law, because out of an apparently simple issue a case of great technical complexity may unexpectedly develop. The case of the Marcelli must, therefore, have been of this character, and all forms of explanation which assume a puzzling question as visible in it from the beginning are on that account unsatisfactory. I accordingly prefer to reconstruct the case somewhat as follows: a Marcellus, son of a freedman of that ilk, died intestate, leaving no direct heirs. Under the law of the Twelve Tables the inheritance would fall to the nearest agnate, that is, to the nearest living at the time when it first became certain that the decedent had died intestate (Gaius iii. 11; cf. Just. *Inst.* iii. 2. 1). Now this nearest agnate had (I surmise) died without entering upon the inheritance. But he left a group of heirs who forthwith claimed the inheritance *stirpe*, that is, by reason of their direct descent from this nearest agnate. The claim thus appeared perfectly simple and readily adjudicable. But the legal representatives of the *gens Claudia* were alive to their opportunity, and put in the counter-claim that the right of the deceased nearest agnate to the inheritance from his relative lapsed by his death before he entered upon possession (a voluntary passing-by of the inheritance would have had the same effect), and that to such a right no succession was by law recognized. Therefore, so claimed the Claudii, both direct heirs and agnates qualified to succeed failed the intestate decedent and the inheritance must therefore fall, according to the Twelve Tables, to the Claudii as a *gens*. They therefore claimed *gente* as the group of Marcelli claimed *stirpe*. This was, I take it, the primary issue raised before the centumviral court.

Had the law been as well determined and its enunciation as clear as it was when Gaius wrote, there can hardly be a question that the claim of the Marcelli would have been at once thrown out of court, for Gaius (iii. 12) distinctly declares the law to be as I assume the representatives of the *gens Claudia* claimed. But I imagine that the law on this point had not been distinctly established at the time when the famous suit of the *gens Claudia* v. certain individual Claudii Marcelli came to trial. Very possibly the decision entered in this case determined the law for the future as Gaius records it.

<sup>1</sup>The claim of the Claudii need not have been exclusive. They may have sought to share with all existing Marcelli the gentile reversion.

And one may easily see how the simple issue above outlined became yet further complicated before the case was fairly on. The fact that the intestate decedent was the son of a freedman raised questions concerning the proper definition of *agnati*. The possibility that the claim of the contesting Marcelli who claimed *stirpe* might be rejected, and the inheritance pass to the *gens*, prompted the representatives of the entire body of Claudii Marcelli to interject a claim that they constituted a legally independent *gens*, upon which, instead of upon the *gens Claudia* as a whole (or possibly the *gens Claudia* to the exclusion of the plebeian and illegitimate *gens Claudia Marcella*?), the inheritance should devolve. Therefore, as Cicero through the mouth of Crassus intimates, the whole complex question of stirpal and gentile relations as concerned with the law of inheritance had to be argued.

It may be remarked that at a later date the praetor found the law as recorded by Gaius (iii. 12) too harsh, and deliberately changed it by his edict (Just. *Inst.* iii. 2. 7), as even before the time of Gaius he had ameliorated a number of the inequitable provisions of the law of inheritance (Gaius iii. 25).

The case of the Marcelli as I have thus hypothetically reconstituted it appears to account naturally, simply, reasonably, and in perfect accord with what we know of Roman law, for all the elements involved in Cicero's statement, and it does this without introducing any uncalled-for complexities such as appear to me to have been assumed by certain of the other forms of explanation. I might, to be sure, argue the matter in detail, especially as against the more involved theories, but it hardly seems to me to be necessary.

E. T. M.]

EMENDATION OF THEOPHRASTUS *DE SENS.* 64, DIELS  
VORSOKRATIKER<sup>2</sup> 375, 44

Πλὴν οὐχ ἀπάντων ἀποδίδωσι τὰς μορφάς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τῶν χυλῶν καὶ τῶν χρωμάτων, καὶ τούτων ἀκριβέστερον διορίζει τὰ περὶ τοὺς χυλοὺς, ἀναφέρων τὴν φαντασίαν πρὸς ἄνθρωπον.

Instead of καὶ τούτων we should probably, not, of course, necessarily, read καὶ αὐτῶν τούτων or καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν which is the regular formula for defining a class within a class.

Cf. Plato *Republic* 412B ἀρ' οὐκ αὐτῶν τούτων οἵτινες ἄρξουσιν—the rulers within the group of guardians. 437D ἐπιθυμῶν τι φήσομεν εἶναι εἶδος, καὶ ἐναργεστάτας αὐτῶν τούτων ἦν τε δίψαν καλοῦμεν καὶ ἦν πείναν; where Jowett goes astray. 457A τούτων δ' αὐτῶν τὰ ἐλαφρότερα. 617A αὐτῶν δὲ τούτων τάχιστα μὲν ἰέναι τὸν ὄγδοον. Phaedo 114C, Symp. 198D ἐξ αὐτῶν δὲ τούτων τὰ κάλλιστα ἐκλεγόμενους. Gorgias 517D τούτων γὰρ ποριστικὸν ἢ κάπηλον ὄντα ἢ ἔμπορον ἢ δημιουργόν του αὐτῶν τούτων where I think it is not refining overmuch to say that αὐτῶν τούτων does not refer directly to τούτων but rather to the implied objects of the traffic of the κάπηλος and the ἔμπορος. *Laus* 803A—Isoc. 3.10 μάλιστα πρόποντας ἐμοὶ τοὺς . . . καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν

ὅσοι—8. 73 βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν νομίζειν, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν μάλιστα—9. 13-15. 180 αὐτοῖν δὲ τουτοῖν where as in our case the larger class contains only two, but the dual is not necessary. 18. 59 ὅτι μετ' ὀλίγων ἔσωσα τὴν ναῦν, αὐτῶν δὲ τούτων ὅτι, etc., an instructive example, cf. 16. 36 μὴ μόνον μετ' ὀλίγων τῶν ἄλλων ἄρχειν ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν πλέον ἔχειν. Aristotle *Ethics* 1150b 37 αὐτῶν δὲ τούτων βελτίους οἱ ἐκστατικοί.

There are many other instances. But these are sufficient to establish the normal usage and to show, incidentally, what classroom experience confirms, that it is often overlooked, to the misapprehension of the meaning.

Theophrastus himself employs it *de Sens.* 38 αὐτῶν δὲ τούτων καὶ τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὰ ὑγρὰ καὶ τὰ ἐναντία to define within the class of sensations the smaller class perceived by the entire body and not merely by the special senses. We should probably delete the first καὶ as due to a misunderstanding of the construction.

PAUL SHOREY

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Platonische Aufsätze.* Von OTTO APELT. Leipzig: Teubner, 1912.  
Pp. v+296. M. 8.

These lucid and interesting studies occupy for the most part a middle ground between the merely literary essay and the philological investigation. There are few footnotes, there is no critical apparatus, and little polemic or explicit reference to the views of other scholars. The author gives his interpretation in the form of continuous exposition, largely interwoven with well selected passages translated from Plato. Without any pretense of system, the first ten essays give a very fair and readable account of Plato's method, his metaphysics, his ethics and politics—of nearly everything except his relation to the life and thought of his time and his philosophy of nature and aesthetics.

Especially valuable are the admirable summary of the political ideas of the *Laws* and *Politicus* in comparison with the *Republic* in the essay on "Die Aufgabe des Staatsmannes," and the four ethical essays "Das Prinzip der platonischen Ethik," "Die Lehre von der Lust," "Der Wert des Lebens" (against the conception of Plato as a pessimistic ascetic), and "Straftheorie" (an intelligent analysis and criticism of Plato's doctrine of punishment). Professor Apelt rightly rejects the view that the famous *ἡμετέριον τὸ θεῖον* is the principle of the Platonic ethics. It is at most the religious formulation of the principle. The Platonic ethic is autonomous. But I cannot concur in the further statement that its principle is "the concept of the beautiful with its direct correlate, the concept of measure." That too is formula and Greek commonplace. The underlying philosophic principle, as I have elsewhere shown (*The Unity of Plato's Thought*, pp. 23-24), is the negativity of (sensuous) pleasure, of which Professor Apelt says too little. And the chief motive of the literary exposition of the ethics in the *Gorgias*, *Republic*, and *Laws*, is that challenge of ethical nihilism which modern ethical writers, except Nietzsche, evade and which Professor Apelt seems to overlook.

The two essays on Method—that on Plato's humor and that on "Die Taktik des platonischen Sokrates," are perhaps the most original portions of the book. Together with a few fanciful suggestions, they present a quantity of true and delicate observations which no student or critic of Plato can afford to neglect. Three essays deal with Plato's metaphysical philosophy as a whole: "Der überhimmlische Ort," "Wahrheit," and "Disharmonien." Here we cannot expect agreement. The critic of Plato's philosophy must possess a philosophy of his own which will endure the tests that he applies

to Plato's. He must know how to allow for Plato's dramatic form, humor, irony, special literary motives, and polemical intentions. He must above all have decided whether Plato is to be treated as a mature thinker, the equal of modern philosophers, or as a genius of the early world, for whose inevitable errors the superior modern makes condescending allowance. I do not accept Kantianism as a standard for the measure of all philosophies, nor admit that it does away with any surds left unresolved by Plato. I do not believe that we need to make allowance for the imperfect development of abstraction in Plato's day in order to do justice to the doctrine of ideas. So far from holding Plato's error to lie in the hypostatization of *all* concepts, I admire him most for seeing that it must be all or none, whether we treat the theory as a logical method or a substantive metaphysical doctrine. I find few if any contradictions or inconsistencies in Plato that need any further explanation than his conscious literary and religious intentions or the inherent insolubility of the problem. I have repeatedly proved that the Idea of Good is not God, but that it is a regulative concept still indispensable to ethical and political philosophy. From these presuppositions Professor Apelt could easily deduce my points of dissent. To set them forth again here would be to write a treatise, not a review. It should be said, however, that this book is generally free from those perversions or misapprehensions of Platonic texts that usually accompany attempts to work out a rigid system for Plato and schoolmaster him for all deviations from it. Without going so far as I do, Professor Apelt emphasizes what I have called the unity of Plato's thought, in refreshing contrast to prevailing theories of his changing phases and evolutions.

The eleventh and twelfth essays are special studies, and really constitute a sort of appendix. That on "Die beiden Hippias" maintains the genuineness of both dialogues. The *Hippias Maior* for which explicit Aristotelian testimony is lacking, is, Apelt thinks, in content an indispensable supplement to the unsatisfactory and apparently immoral conclusion of the *Hippias Minor*. The science of the *Kalón* is required to determine the right use of the indeterminate and therefore amoral faculty (*δύναμις*) which in the lesser dialogue gave rise to the playful paradox that the man who can both lie and tell the truth is "better" than he who cannot tell a lie. This is doubtless a conceivable, but perhaps fanciful connection. It is enough that, as Professor Apelt argues, there is little if anything un-Platonic in the greater *Hippias*, and the burden of proof rests upon its impugnors. The parallel (p. 236) between *Hippias Minor* 375D and Aristotle's *Ethics* had been already pointed out in my *Idea of Good in Plato's Republic* (p. 209). The proposed emendation of σώματα to σχήματα in *Hippias Maior* 301B διὰ ταῦτα οὕτω μεγάλα ἡμᾶς λανθάνει καὶ διανεκῇ σώματα τῆς οὐσίας πεφυκότα is unnecessary. It is not requisite that the allusion in 301E should repeat every point in 301B, and the text is, I think, sufficiently defended by *Sophist* 246B, where ingenious dialecticians break up in their arguments the bodies

that constitute reality for the materialists: τὰ δὲ ἐκείνων σώματα καὶ τὴν λεγομένην ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν κατὰ σμικρὰ διαθραύοντες ἐν τοῖς λόγοις. But it must be admitted that the whole *Hippias* passage, in its somewhat technical phrasing, presents a difficulty on the theory that the dialogue is both genuine and early.

The long critical discussion of the *Sophist* which concludes the volume is too technical for detailed examination in my space. I merely note two or three points: (1) The introductory analysis of the *Sophist* is admirably clear and sound. (2) The general view of the logical value and purpose of the *Sophist* is, I think, essentially that presented in my dissertation on the Platonic ideas and in my *Unity of Plato's Thought*. (3) The criticism of Plato's treatment of the negative and of negative predication is (in substance) that of Mill and Grote. It is unfair to Plato and is due to our habit of thinking in modern idiom instead of in Greek idiom and in the terms of Plato's problem (see *Unity*, p. 54). To this Apelt adds the further complication of identifying Aristotle's indeterminate propositions ἀδιόριστοι with what modern German logicians call "Begriffsvergleichung" in contradistinction to real "Urteil." Plato's propositions about the identity or difference of "rest," "motion," "being," the "same," and the "other," are undoubtedly "Begriffsvergleichungen," if we choose to adopt that terminology. But Plato, though he has not the terminology, is aware of the fact. He knows that he is comparing concepts, and in comparing them he is consciously and correctly taking the terms of his propositions universally, though he is not pedantically careful to use πᾶς. There is nothing indeterminate in his propositions. He is raising the real question: are any two or more of these concepts identical throughout their whole extent? that is, are they merely synonyms for the same thing? Aristotle's ἀδιόριστοι have nothing to do with this. They are careless or eristic unquantified propositions which must be quantified before the argument can proceed. It is a mere accident that such propositions would usually be in fact "Begriffsvergleichungen." Aristotle, as his example ἡδονή indicates, is perhaps thinking of the first sentences of the *Philebus* (see my note in *Class. Phil.* III, 344), or of such Platonic passages as *Gorgias* 495A, 499B, *Hippias major* 287D, 293E, 297C.

Plato undoubtedly associates the negative with either subject or predicate and not with the copula. This seems unnatural to us and obscures the true function of the negative. But this was precisely the Greek idiom that was the chief cause of the problem. We cannot even translate into modern speech such expressions as τὸ μὴ ὄν, τοῦ μὴ ὄντος, etc., or ἡ μὴ' μπαρία. It is true that Plato never formulated, as Aristotle did, the rules for the conversion of propositions, and the distinction of contradictory and contrary opposition. But he is clearly aware of the distinction and never erred through overlooking it. *Protagoras* 350BC is intentional, as I have repeatedly shown (e.g., *Class. Phil.* I, 297). *Republic* 437AB, cited by Apelt, does not

prove the point. There, after opposing as *ἐναντία* the contraries *ἐπιτείνειν ἀνανεύειν*, etc., Plato further illustrates the two opposed categories by *ἐπιθυμῶν, ἐθέλειν, βούλεσθαι*, on the one hand, and *ἀβουλεύειν, μὴ ἐθέλειν, μὴ ἐπιθυμῶν*, on the other. This, Apelt says, is in itself enough to prove that Plato supposed contrary opposition to include contradictory. I reply: (1) the technical distinction is not in question in this psychological passage and Plato was as free to speak of opposites or incompatibles, in the broad sense, as we are. Plato, as his treatment of Prodicus shows, made distinctions only when he needed them. He does not need to distinguish contrary and contradictory propositions here. Neither contraries nor contradictories can be true "of the same thing at the same time in the same relation," etc. (2) *μὴ ἐθέλειν* is only in grammatical form the contradictory of *ἐθέλειν*. It means "to be unwilling," and if we take it so the purely technical inaccuracy disappears. Plato probably coined *ἀβουλεύειν*, perhaps to avoid *μὴ βούλεσθαι*, as Tarde uses *volonté* for the "opposite" of *volonté*. There was no good single synonym for *μὴ ἐθέλειν*, and *μὴ ἐθέλειν* drew after it *μὴ ἐπιθυμῶν*. In any case, the opposition of propositions is not involved at all. Plato is merely piling up synonyms to illustrate a real psychological opposition, and the scrutiny that finds in his words a confusion of contrary and contradictory could find it equally in any modern writer. Thus once more is verified the presumption (I have never said that it is a certainty) that the "mistakes" of Plato are usually the misapprehensions of his interpreters.

PAUL SHOREY

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*Sprachliche Forschungen zur Chronologie der platonischen Dialoge.* Von  
HANS V. ARNIM. Vienna: Hölder, 1912. Pp. 235.

Professor von Arnim believes that the distrust of *Sprachstatistik* still expressed in certain quarters is partly justified by the inadequacy of past presentations of the method, including his own. It is not enough to establish stylistic coincidences between a group of dialogues suspected to belong to the same period. We must know negatively that there do not exist other coincidences that might associate the group with an altogether different set of dialogues. The practitioner of the method cannot shift this burden upon his opponents. He must himself compare every dialogue with every other dialogue—*ἢ πολλαπλάσιον τὸ ἔργον*.

To undertake this for every trait of style would demand more than "die entscheidungsvolle Arbeit vieler Menschenleben." Meanwhile, it is possible to select certain specially significant linguistic phenomena, the exhaustive study of which will practically suffice. For this purpose, Professor von Arnim has chosen the forms or formulae of assent in the dialogues. He has made complete collections of these and some allied expressions, but confines himself in



the present study to the publication of the results yielded by the expressions of practically unqualified positive assent. In his first table, he gives the number of occurrences in each dialogue of every such expression, from the simple *ναί* to *παντάσιν μὲν οὖν. — καὶ τοῦτ' ἄξιον δισχυρίζεσθαι — φιλεῖ γοῦν οὕτω γίνεσθαι*, etc. Each book of the *Republic* and the *Laws* is reckoned as a dialogue. The second table exhibits for each dialogue (a) the forms of assent that occur repeatedly both in it and in other dialogues, with the numbers for each; (b) forms found once in it and repeatedly in other dialogues; (c) forms found once in it and once in other dialogues; (d) its *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα*. The third table shows the number of kinds of expressions of assent and the number of occurrences which each dialogue has in common with every other. In the fourth table, which to the uninitiated eye resembles a table of logarithms, these statistics are worked up into "quotients" or coefficients of affinity between each dialogue and every other. The method by which these quotients are calculated takes careful account both of the number of kinds of expressions, the number of occurrences, and other factors. But it is too complicated to be explained here. The provisional result is the establishment of the following order: *Ion*, *Protagoras*—*Laches*, *Republic I*, *Lysis*, *Charmides*, *Euthyphron*, *Euthydemus*, *Gorgias*, *Meno*, *Hippias II*, *Cratylus*—*Symposium*, *Hippias I*, *Phaedo* (*Crito*), *Republic II–X*, *Theaetetus*, *Parmenides*, *Phaedrus*, *Sophist*, *Politicus*, *Philebus*, *Laws I–XII*. This is in broad agreement with the conclusions of other investigators. Especially notable are only the early date of the *Protagoras*, the long list of writings that intervene between *Republic I* and the remainder of the *Republic*, and the position of the *Phaedrus* between the *Parmenides* and the *Sophist*.

Detailed criticism, both of the method and the results, must be postponed until Professor von Arnim has worked up the rest of his enormous material. I may be permitted, however, to define my position with regard to his provisional conclusions. The position assigned to the *Phaedrus* is in accord with the argument in my *Unity of Plato's Thought* that it is a mature work and that its dialectical method is essentially that of the *Sophist*. If the *Protagoras* really is Plato's first or second work, it would help to confirm my view of the "unity of Plato's thought" by showing that in this earliest writing his art at least is mature. The long interval between *Republic I* and *II* would seem to imply that *Republic I* was originally an independent dialogue. This view is of course possible and has been maintained. But the burden of proof rests on the maintainer. It is an admirable introduction as it stands. Differences in style are perhaps in part due to difference of theme. The forms of assent in a controversial dialogue may be expected to differ from those in a didactic discussion with a consenting respondent. Professor von Arnim does not, I believe, discuss this point. But he has carefully considered the general probability that stylistic differences may be due to the subject-matter, and he believes that he has eliminated that objection in respect of

the formulae included in his statistics. I am not quite convinced. The nature of the theme, if we extend the phrase to include dramatic setting, polemic or satiric intentions, and the character of the respondents, affects the style in more subtle ways than *Sprachstatistik* has yet taken cognizance of. I think, for example, that I could account for the frequency of  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon$ , observed by Ritter in *Republic* VIII.

I have no a priori objection to statistics of style. On the contrary I believe that it is in theory possible to determine by this method the dates of the dialogues. My reserves relate to three points: (1) The further more precise dating of the dialogues will not appreciably affect the interpretation of Plato's thought. (2) Statisticians must pay much closer attention than they have hitherto given to variations due to the nature of the theme. (3) Though courtesy requires us to presume the correctness of statistics, I have never attempted verification without discovering errors, whether sufficient to invalidate the conclusions is of course in each case arguable. Professor von Arnim has repeatedly proved himself a careful worker, and I have no doubt that his present investigation contains as few as could be expected of the inadvertences *quas aut incuria fudit aut humana parum cavit natura*. Yet as I turn over his tables, my eye now and then falls on a statement that awakens my suspicion. I will give but one example, which I dare say is accidental and not typical. In Table I, under  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\iota$ , appears the entry:  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \gamma\epsilon\ \chi\rho\acute{\eta}$  Cr. 2.  $\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega\varsigma\ \sigma\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \gamma\epsilon\ \chi\rho\acute{\eta}$  G; and in Table II, under Crito 4, we read:  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \gamma\epsilon\ \chi\rho\acute{\eta}$ . 2 G.  $\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega\varsigma\ \sigma\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \gamma\epsilon\ \chi\rho\acute{\eta}$ . Now I have not mathematics enough to judge how far this oversight would affect such a formula as

$$F\Delta B = \frac{\alpha + \beta - 2\gamma}{\gamma} - \frac{\alpha^{\hat{\alpha}} + \beta^{\hat{\mu}}\gamma - 2\beta^{\hat{\mu}}\hat{\gamma}}{\beta^{\hat{\mu}}\hat{\gamma}}.$$

But I see at a glance that it is an oversight. I do not know how often  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \gamma\epsilon\ \chi\rho\acute{\eta}$  occurs in Plato. But I find at once without a lexicon, in addition to *Crito* 53D and 54B and *Gorgias* 522A, *Phaedo* 68B, in continuous discussion, and as in *Crito* 54B as apodosis to a condition, and *Protagoras* 325C, in Protagoras' answer to himself. In addition to this, we should take into account *Charmides* 163B,  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \gamma\epsilon\ \chi\rho\acute{\eta}$ , and even  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \gamma\epsilon\ \sigma\upsilon$  in *Republic* 336E is so essentially analogous that it ought to have been included under  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\iota$ . The moral of this petty criticism, if it has a moral, is that, hard as is the task which Professor von Arnim has set himself in comparison with his easy-going predecessors, he has still not made the conditions hard enough. We need to weigh every passage in its context, and we must give references to chapter and verse so that the reader may test our classification.  $\eta\ \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\alpha\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\ \acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\omicron\nu$ .

PAUL SHOREY

*Menandrea ex papyris et membranis vetustissimis.* Iterum edidit ALFREDUS KOERTE. Lipsiae: Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, 1912. Editio minor, paper M. 1.80, board M. 2.20; editio maior, paper M. 3, board M. 3.40.

After Kretschmar's dissertation, *De Menandri reliquiis nuper repertis*, Leipzig, 1906, had become practically inaccessible, and Lefebvre's expensive publication of the Aphroditopolis finds had proved inadequate, students of Menander began to feel keenly the need of a cheap, convenient, and trustworthy publication of all the "new" Menander—a need largely filled by Koerte's edition of 1910. Herein were included the newly discovered fragments of the following plays: the five Cairo plays, viz., *Heros* (?), *Epitrepontes*, *Samia* (?), *Periceiomene* (including the Leipzig and Oxyrhynchus fragments), and an unknown play; the Geneva fragment of the *Georgos*; a Berlin comic fragment, doubtfully assigned to the *Citharistes*; the Oxyrhynchus fragments of the *Colax* and *Perinthia*; a fragment of the *Coneiazomenae*, preserved in the library at Dorpat, called to Koerte's attention by Gregory Zereteli, and here published for the first time; and the St. Petersburg fragments of the *Phasma* and of an unknown play which Koerte, with vigorous arguments against Capps and others, refuses to identify with the *Epitrepontes*.

The present edition adds the Heidelberg fragment of the *Periceiomene*, the Oxyrhynchus fragment of the *Misoumenos*, and eleven badly mutilated fragments of the Cairo papyrus, one of which positively identifies the *Heros*, and others are of importance for the plot of the *Epitrepontes*. The recent finds now total about 2,200 complete or fragmentary verses from thirteen or fourteen plays.

Koerte's new edition omits the transcript of the papyrus which faced the edited text in the first edition, but gives simply the running text with critical apparatus. Thanks largely to Jensen and to Lefebvre's second edition, both of whom he seems to report accurately, Koerte has modified and, for the most part, improved his readings in some 200 passages. Now more conservative, he rarely omits to note in his commentary the few restorations that do not conform to reported gaps or traces. Unfortunately, as a rule, he does not report the number of lost letters at the beginnings of lines, nor indicate the occurrence of the double point. Over a score of his reports of his own first edition are inaccurate. Apart from obvious misprints, e.g., Pk. 196, MAITNAC, and probable misprints in indicating uncertain and lost letters, several reports seem to show a certain lack of candor: E. 464, "potius K vel N agnovit K." for "vel K, vel Γ, vel N, vel Π, vix T"; S. 292, "ΦΥΑΑΞ·Τ" for "ΦΥΑΑΞΕ·Α"; J. II 15, "TITIC . . . CTOTΕ:" Capps K<sup>2</sup>, TITI (vel H) . . . CTOTΕ: K<sup>1</sup> for "TITITH (vel I) . . . CTOTΕ:" (K<sup>2</sup> seems to indicate approval of another editor's

report upon re-examination of the papyrus!); J. II 16, "OCC K.; XAIPC E vel O, non W) K. Capps" for "initio OCC vel WCÉ; in fine potius PE quam PW." In any event, how can Koerte adopt Wil.'s χαῖρ', [ἀλλὰ τίς?

Koerte's list of other editors' supplements appears arbitrary; the selection is neither happy nor satisfactory. The student, who would know the trend of scholarly opinion, must have constant recourse to the critical notes of other editions. Koerte often quotes a restoration for one line and omits the companion restoration for the following line. He adopts or cites readings, since abandoned by their authors. However one may differ with Koerte's distribution of rôles or his conception of the plots, as advanced in the excellent preface of the editio maior, his views are almost always worthy of consideration, a courtesy which he does not always vouchsafe to the views of others. Typographical errors abound, especially in the Index Verborum, where no attempt seems to have been made to rectify the numerous inaccuracies and omissions of the first edition.

A few selected notes: Pk. 208, Professor Capps has observed "that μέγα τί σοι κακὸν | δώσω which has been proposed here, could not mean 'I'll inflict heavy punishment upon you.'" But not only has Jensen confirmed this reading adopted by Koerte, but it is supported by Plautus *Casina* 729, where, to Olympio's πράγματά μοι παρέχας, Lysidamus *senex* replies: "Dabo tibi μέγα κακόν." See also Stephanus' *Thesaurus s.v.* δίδωμι: "Δίδωμι κακὸν etiam dicitur a Dem. quoque, pro Malum infero." H. 24 crit. note, next page, 44. E. 39, punctuation, cf. Capps on τοιουτοσί; 53 crit. note, most improbable; 106, ἄρας Heidel; 192, ἡ 'μοῖ; 211, τούτοις; 238, προσφέροι; 249, room for only two letters, hence ὡς Rob.; 251, αἶ Capps; 354, obscure; 357, ἀλλ' ὅδ' Wil. Byington. Does not ὅδ' occur in Men.? Why not? Cf. J. I 28; 362, πέπυσται Wil.; 396, 431.9 ψάλτριάς; 449b, 450b (Πα.); 503, καὶ θεοὺς Crois., here and Pk. 172, notwithstanding my criticism, *Studies in Menander* 17, n. 5, 18, K. persists in attributing oaths by Apollo to women; 506, τέκνον as subject would require article, space for only five letters; 512, φροντιῇ Sudh.; 514, ἐστί τοι Capps; 523, νουθετήεις; 566, punctuation; 578, ἐγῶμαι; 589, Sophrona cannot say ἡ γραῦς, etc. S. 316, σιωπῇ. Pk. 383-97, unpardonable omission of Capps' readings, K. not the skilled papyrologist to impugn the testimony of other men's eyes; 446, "docuit," nay, "assumpsit." J. II 39, Jernstedt, from fr. 581 K. New oaths, or clarified context of old ones: H. 79, 82, E. 431.41, 501.2, S. 68, Pk. 192, J. I 52, 54, 55, 62, fr. η 3. Note J. I 62, πρὸς τῆς Ἑστιάς, *senex* Laches, in perplexity concerning his domestic affairs; Pk. 221, νῆ τόν Κ<sup>1</sup>, ἤπτον Sudh. K<sup>2</sup>.

One leaves this edition of Menander disappointed. It is our best Menander, but neither in scholarly accuracy nor editorial judgment, worthy either of publisher or editor.

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*Studia Catulliana.* By F. W. GREBE. Dissertation. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1912. Pp. 135.

In his preface the author of this dissertation states that he first read the poems of Catullus through carefully without reference to any annotated edition and then compared his conclusions with Friedrich's recently published commentary. The result is practically a review of Friedrich's book. About 85 passages are treated, in connection with most of which the author finds fault with one of Friedrich's interpretations or emendations. Since Grebe in general displays good judgment in these criticisms, it is usually the over-subtle interpretations that are attacked. An example will serve as illustration. In 41. 1 Friedrich thinks that the reading *A me an a* of the MSS cannot conceal the name *Ameana*, accepted by most editors, because the following *puella* would be superfluous; that therefore a proper adjective modifying *puella* must be sought, and he suggests such a one in *Aminaea*. Grebe easily refutes this by pointing out that *defututa* modifies *puella* and that in the phrase *Ameana puella defututa* we have a characteristic Catullian phrase, like 21. 1, *Aureli pater esuritionum*, etc.

Sometimes Grebe's methods are too mechanical. For example, in 17. 3 he is clearly wrong, though Friedrich is not entirely right. The latter holds that *ponticuli* has a true diminutive force, contrasting with *ponte longo* of vs. 1. The former maintains that it has no diminutive force. It would seem rather that the use of the diminutive adds color to the context, emphasizing the frailty rather than smallness (though this is implied also) of the bridge—a frailty indicated by *inepta* and *redivivis*. The undiminished form *ponte* is used in vs. 8 and 28 because Catullus is not concerned there with the frailty of the bridge.

While this destructive criticism takes up the greater part of the book, there are a few new suggestions. Most of them, however, merely add a little something to suggestions already made, e.g., in 25. 5 Grebe reads *Cum Diva mulierarios ostendit oscitantes*, and interprets *Diva* as *Luna*, the latter a reading suggested by Heyse. In 51. 6 the conjecture *Vocis hianti*, based on Virgil *Aen.* vi. 492, is worthy of notice.

The appendices present collections of material which might have served as a nucleus for a dissertation more valuable, even if shorter, than the one Grebe has written. A glance through them serves to give some idea of some features of Catullus' style. Grebe refers to them in the course of his book, but gives no general conclusions, as he should have done. They are: polysyllabic words at the ends of hendecasyllables (incomplete); the use of *mente* (this list shows Catullus' fondness for the adverbial usage which gave rise to the Romance adverb; it should contain the examples of *pectore* and *corde* as well); words containing *ll* at the end of a verse; diminutives (the classification according to whether they are formed from noun or adjective is of little value; they should be classified according to their force);

repetition of words or use of similar words for emphasis (valuable); ornamental epithets; favorite types of hexameter lines (deals with the position of nouns and adjectives in the verse); repetition of ideas in different form (incomplete); repetition of phrases, verses, and words (the last cited only if in the same position in the verse; full and valuable).

B. L. ULLMAN

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*De Fabulis Terenti in Actus Dividendis.* Scripsit HANS KEYM.  
Giessen, 1911. Pp. 29.

It is amazing what a furore has been caused by the repeated occurrence of a single word, XOPOY, in the new Menander fragments. Scholars immediately began to scan the Greek comic fragments and the Latin comedies in order to discover similar *Aktschlüsse*. It was inevitable that the next step would be the reopening of the whole question of act divisions in Plautus and Terence. The problem has already been touched upon, but only incidentally, by Leo (*Der Monolog im Drama* 50 ff.) and Legrand (*Daos* 464 ff.); but to Keym falls the honor of being the first to isolate the subject in a dissertation.

From Menander's practice as now established he draws two general conclusions—in my opinion both correct: (a) acts can end only when the scene is empty, but (b) an empty scene does not necessarily mean a new act. Dr. Keym proceeds to apply these criteria to Terence. The traditional division violates (a) at nine different points; on the other hand, he finds thirty instances of an empty scene, only half of which coincide with the present act endings. Since there undoubtedly was a three-act tradition in antiquity and since he finds the stage empty but twice in the *Andria* and *Heauton*, he avails himself of principle (b) above to reduce the other four plays to the same norm—surely a disappointing finish to so promising a beginning.

I had already worked through Plautus and Terence in the search for the recurrence of an empty stage and I now find myself at variance with Keym at not a few points, but there is little to be gained by dwelling upon such minutiae here. His main contention has already received its *coup de grâce* from the establishment<sup>1</sup> of a third *Aktschluss* at *Heauton* 170 in addition to those which Keym quite properly recognizes at vss. 409 and 872. Thus, the *Heauton* contains four acts at least, and possibly five, since Leo (*Der Monolog* 59, n. 2) finds traces of a chorus at vs. 744.

Keym opposes those *qui fabulas Terentianas sine pausa decurrisse putant* (p. 25), but his argument proves merely that act pauses were occasionally observed, not that they always were. On the same page, he attributes the act divisions to Terence himself, not to ancient scholars. Conscious of these

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Class. Phil.* VI, 485, and VII, 24ff. Some of my conclusions have now been confirmed by Professor Skutsch, *Hermes* XLVII, 141 ff., in a paper published simultaneously with the appearance of my article *in extenso*.



divisions he must certainly have been; but if the presentation was usually continuous, there was no need of indicating purely imaginary divisions in the prompt books. Donatus' words on several occasions distinctly imply that in the published editions scholars had to make their own divisions and that this was sometimes a difficult thing to do. The absence of scene and act divisions in the earliest editions of Shakespeare provides a close parallel.

It is regrettable that Keym paid no heed to Leo's criterion, the use of monologues to begin and conclude acts. That in a somewhat primitive scenic setting such a practice had a tangible *raison d'être* has recently been pointed out by Arnold, *The Soliloquies of Shakespeare* 81-88.

The typography of Keym's work is excellent. On p. 10, l. 18, for *intellegimus* read *intellegamus*.

ROY C. FLICKINGER

*Aristophanis Pax*. Edidit KONRADUS ZACHER. Praefatus est OTTOMARUS BACHMANN. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1909. Pp. xxxii+127. \$1.19.

Immediately after his revision of Velsen's *Equites* in 1897, Zacher began working upon an edition of the *Pax*. He was on the point of publication, when the appearance of editions by Mazon, Sharples, and Van Leeuwen (1904-6) forced a postponement. His death in 1907 at the age of fifty-six necessitated the transference of the task to other hands; and with some misgivings, due to failing eyesight, Bachmann undertook it. Although the edition proper was already in type, it demanded revision at many points; Bachmann wrote a *praefatio*, partially based upon stray sheets left by the first editor, and added an edition of the metrical scholia.

The *praefatio* deals with the manuscripts, of which there are eight; but two of these are negligible, since Ven. 475 (G) and Par. 2717 (C) are closely dependent upon Ven. 474 (V) and Vat.-Pal. 67 (P) respectively. V and R (Rav. 137) are the oldest and best manuscripts and the only ones to present this play without *lacunae*.

In the body of the work, the division of the page into text, *adnotatio critica*, and *scripturae discrepantia*, though favored by strong precedents and perhaps almost inevitable, mars the typographical appearance. The details are innumerable, almost bewildering, and sometimes uselessly repetitious. Thus, on vss. 1, 3, and 4 the statement is thrice repeated that the inferior manuscripts incorrectly accent *μᾶξιν*; surely the first statement with a reference to the instances adjoining would have sufficed.

The time and labor spent upon this work are appalling, and it is sad to think that in spite of them new knowledge has already begun to antiquate the volume. For example, the citations of the *Pax* in Reitzenstein's *Der Anfang des Lexicons des Photios* are not included.

ROY C. FLICKINGER



*Greek Inscriptions from Sardes 1.* By W. H. BUCKLER and D. M. ROBINSON. Reprinted from the *American Journal of Archaeology*, 2d series. Archaeological Institute of America, Vol. XVI (1912), No. 1.

This inscription, which was discovered in February, 1911, belongs to the end of the fourth century B.C. The text is beautifully engraved in two columns. A small portion at the top of each column is illegible. The document is a mortgage or rather a conveyance with right of redemption reserved. Mnesimachus, an officer in the service of Antigonos the king, had borrowed a sum of money from the temple wardens of Artemis in Sardes. When the debt fell due he was unable to repay it, and executed this mortgage to secure the principal and interest. The document begins with a recital of the terms of the loan and the mortgagor's title to the estate which consists of certain villages and allotments, a few smaller parcels of land, and a farmstead. The mortgagor covenants to undertake any legal processes necessary to defend the title and guarantees quiet possession. The income derived from the estate, less the taxes and expenditures for improvements, is to cover the interest. If the income is impaired by failure of crops the mortgagor binds himself to make good the deficiency. In case the king who really owns the fee simple deprives Mnesimachus of the estate a sum equivalent to twice the original debt by way of penalty becomes at once due and payable. The mortgagee has the right to levy on the property of the mortgagor without legal proceedings. On the expiration of the stipulated term the conveyance becomes absolute. Such are the leading features of this interesting and important document—the only extant example of this type of mortgage.

In 80 pages of commentary the editors have discussed every point of interest with a fulness that leaves nothing to be desired. Illustrative material is drawn from literature, inscriptions, and papyri with exhaustive references to modern literature. The editors are to be congratulated on their good fortune in discovering the inscription and their success in elucidating it.

ROBERT J. BONNER

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*Sexti Aurelii Victoris Liber de Caesaribus: praecedunt Origo Gentis Romanae et Liber de Viris Illustribus Urbis Romae, subsequitur Epitome de Caesaribus.* Recensuit FRANCISCUS PICHLMAYR. Leipzig: Teubner, 1911. Pp. xxii+210.

The appearance of Dr. Pichlmayr's edition of the *Historia Tripartita* and the *Epitome* ascribed to Aurelius Victor is noteworthy, for this is the first complete text of this corpus that has appeared since the publication of

Schroeter's text some eighty years ago. The qualifications of the editor to deal with the text were established by his previous edition of the *de Caesaribus* (Munich, 1892). This edition was important as the first one in which the reading of the Codex Oxoniensis (O) were combined with those of the Codex Pulmannianus (Bruxellensis) (P), on which previous texts had been based. In constituting the text of the *de Caesaribus* and the *Origo Gentis Romanae* on the basis of these two closely interrelated MSS the editor has used the eclectic method, selecting in each instance what seemed to him to be the better reading. For the *de Caesaribus* this is generally found to be the reading of O, for the *Origo* that of P. His attitude toward the manuscript tradition is characterized by wise conservatism, but in many instances obvious emendations have been made, and well-established corrections and conjectures of earlier editors have been accepted.

The present text of the *de Caesaribus* is essentially the same as that of the edition of 1892. However, a number of changes have been made, some of them in response to the suggestions of Opitz (*Woch. f. kl. Phil.* X [1893], 713-15, and *N. phil. Rundsch.* [1893], 227-29). Thus in 3. 16 instead of Schott's emendation *Ti. Claudium*, the reading of the MSS *Titum Claudium* has been retained, in accordance with the principle elsewhere observed (12. 1; 20. 14; 26. 2 and 7) that errors in names are due, not to the copyists, but to the author himself. Several of the other suggestions of Opitz have been adopted, as the MSS reading *civi* (1892, *cine*) in 13. 11, Pantinus' conjecture *exsector marium* (1892, *exactor parium*, MSS) in 5. 7, and Schott's emendation *ut in Campania sedens* (1892, *uti Campaniam secedens*, Arntzen) in 16. 2. Other changes are the wise retention of the MSS *monendoque* in 9. 4, the retraction of his earlier conjecture *capillatisque* for the corrupt *satisque* and of the bold proposal to read *Sarmatisque* for the impossible *Sardonios* in 13. 3, and the excellent emendation of *imperium* to *imperio* in 39. 12. Less happy is the emendation *atque Aurelio* for *athelio* (O) in 15. 1, where the MSS reading might well have been retained as *Aelio*, since Pius was regularly known after his adoption as T. Aelius Caesar Antoninus. In the direction of conservatism, the editor has gone too far in rejecting such emendations as Schott's *hortatum* in 8. 2, *biennium* in 10. 5, and *quisque* in 17. 7, and perhaps in the designation as *loci desperati* of certain passages where the text might be easily emended, as in 16. 10, where by means of simple corrections P can be made to read intelligibly: *ita incerta belli eius salut<i> <a> doctrinae studi<os> is metuebantur*.

The text of the *Origo* represents a sane reaction against the radical measures adopted by such editors as Sepp and Smit, whose needless emendations have been wisely relegated to the critical apparatus. The editor has, however, adopted a number of well-established corrections, such as *naviam* for the MSS *naviandi* in 3. 5, and in the much-discussed passage in 3. 4 the reading of the second hand of P *is tum* (i.e., Saturnus) instead of the vulgate *istum* (i.e., Janus) (so also W. T. Semple "Authenticity and Sources of the Or. G. R.")

*Studies of the Univ. of Cincinnati* II, vi, 3). Also in 4. 4 the irrelevant clause *sed urbem Saturnus cum in Italiam venisset condidisse traditur* is, with Gruner and later editors, rejected, and in 10. 1 the words *qui etiam nunc Euxinus sinus dicitur* are rightly with Sepp regarded as a gloss. However, in some instances the editor has perhaps been over-conservative. Thus he has left the corrupt passage in 11. 3 as a *locus desperatus*, in spite of the easy and convincing emendation of Sylburg, and Jordan's almost certain conjecture of *Acilius Piso* in 10. 2 into *Acilius* <et> *Piso* has not been accepted. Similarly, in 20. 3 he has retained without question the meaningless clause *quae repente exierat*, which in spite of many attempts has never been successfully emended, and which is probably to be regarded as a gloss on the preceding *excitum*.

In the case of the *de Viris Illustribus*, the editor's task is rendered more difficult by the multiplicity of the manuscripts. Of these no less than 63 have been catalogued, and 43 used more or less by Dr. Pichlmayr. The group composed of O and P (group A) is distinguished from the others as containing chaps. 78-86 and lacking chaps. 1 and 16. The other manuscripts (B) fall into two groups, those ending at 77. 9 (C), and the inferior codices which include the whole of chap. 77 (D). This classification was the basis of Wijga's text (Groningen, 1890), and Dr. Pichlmayr's single divergence from it is his addition of Cod. Ricardianus 537 (F) to the C group. Both editors regard A as the best group; and both are inconsistent in giving the preference to C-D in many instances where A contains a reading at least equally intelligible. In this tendency the present editor outdoes his predecessor. Thus in 18. 6 he adopts the common reading *nobilitatis superbiam* (D) instead of *nobilitatem* (A); in 23. 5 he reads *Roma* with B for *a Romanis* with A; in 30. 3 he reads *cum insidias statuisset* for *in insidias venisset*, the reading of A as given by Wijga, and in 63. 1 he omits *dictus* (A), the presence of which alone makes the following clause intelligible. Moreover, like Wijga, the present editor seems to have gone too far in rejecting clauses and sentences occurring only in A. Some of these are evident interpolations, as in 7. 8; 35. 12-16; 51. 5; and 64. 9; but there seems to be no very valid reason for rejecting the mention of Servius Tullius' institution of the census in 7. 8, or for reading in 38. 1 *hostium naves* [triginta] *apprehendit* [tredecim mersit]. On the other hand, preference is sometimes rightly given to the readings of C and D, as *reliquiis* in 23. 9, *Gauri* in 26. 1, and in the clause *quem victum flevit et assidere sibi iussit* in 56. 3, where *quem* and *et* are omitted by A. The editor has shown his usual conservatism in dealing with the manuscript tradition, accepting the best emendations of his predecessors, but rejecting many useless conjectures, like Wijga's  $\rho$  in 3. 2, and Schott's interpolation in 57. 2. On the other hand, such excellent corrections of Wijga as *iter* <ar> *etur* in 2. 3, and <plebeius> in 20. 2 should have been retained. And the evident glosses *id est Ponto* in 74. 5, and *Ambraciae* in 79. 3 were better omitted. Nor has the editor attempted to emend evidently

corrupt passages as 51. 4 and 71. 2, and the much-discussed clause *ludos in circo* in 8. 3, which is so evidently an erroneous gloss on the preceding *ferias Latinas*, as is shown by the senseless reading of C, *Latinis in circo*.

The text of the *Epitome* is based on the two Codices Gudiani (A), and in so far corresponds with previous editions. Dr. Pichlmayr, however, has added to these MSS the readings of the Codex Mediceus 66, 39 which he has himself collated, and he has established its superiority, as well as that of the closely related Codex Bernensis 104 (group B) over the MSS used as secondary sources by earlier editors. In a few cases the reading of B has even been given the preference, as *patratis* in 10. 1 and *Leptim* in 20. 8, and especially to fill the lacuna in 34. 1. Also the combined readings of B and C have occasionally been preferred to A, but in the main A has been followed with consistency.

In general, Dr. Pichlmayr's recension is characterized by wisdom and sanity, rather than by any brilliant originality. His object has been, not to utilize an opportunity of displaying his ingenuity, but to present an accurate and usable text, and fulfilling, as it does, such a purpose, this edition deserves a hearty welcome.

DAVID MAGIE, JR.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

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*Lexicon Plautinum*, Conscriptis GONZALEZ LODGE. Leipzig: Teubner, Vol. I, fasc. 6 (Ego-Fabula), 1911. Pp. 481-576. Each fasc., M. 7.20.

With this number the sixth of the sixteen fascicles which this lexicon is to comprise makes its appearance. In a review of the first five fascicles for Vol. IV of this journal (pp. 91-93) a statement of the plan of the work and a discussion of its characteristic features were given. In that notice attention was called to the generosity which the editor had shown in publishing all the material which might be helpful in a study of Plautine word-order, forms, and meanings, and further proof of this purpose is furnished in this part of the lexicon, as may be seen by glancing at the heading "forma" under *em* and *eo*, or at the articles on *eo*, *et*, and *ex*, which run respectively to 16, 40, and 14 columns. Articles of special interest to the student of Plautus are those on *ehem*, *ehēu*, *em*, *enim*, and *equidem*, and particularly the treatment of *enim* whose Plautine meaning and position in a sentence seem to have been fixed once for all. The difficulty involved in tracing a connection between the different meanings of *etiam*, of *expedio*, and of certain other words will also arouse his attention. The articles on *et* and *etiam* are contributed by Professor Knapp, that on *ex* by Professor Waters.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

*Textgeschichte der Bibliothek des Patriarchen Photios von Konstantinopel.* I. Teil: *Die Handschriften, Ausgaben und Übertragungen.* Von EDGAR MARTINI. Des XXVIII. Bandes der Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der königl. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, No. VI. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1911. M. 7.

"*Die Bibliothek des Photios* ist das wichtigste litterarhistorische Werk des Mittelalters." This judgment of Karl Krumbacher (*Kultur der Gegenwart*, I, viii, S. 274) with regard to the *Bibliothek* of the great Patriarch cannot be denied. It is therefore a deplorable fact that no new text-edition of this important work has appeared for nearly a century and we are still dependent on the antiquated edition of Bekker (Berlin, 1824).

The very important preliminary step toward the production of such an edition has been taken by Dr. Martini in the publication cited above, which is the result of an examination of manuscripts of the *Bibliothek*, which are to be found in Italy, France, and Spain.

The first part of the investigation is devoted to a description of the MSS. Of these Martini catalogues 24 which contain the whole, or large portions, of the *Bibliothek*, while in addition 28 are listed which give excerpts or individual articles. Of the 24 in the first category, no less than 19 date from the sixteenth century; only two are of the fifteenth, while the thirteenth, twelfth, and tenth centuries are represented each by a single codex. At the head of the complete MSS is the excellent Cod. Marcianus graec. 450 (designated A by Bekker), assigned to the second half of the tenth century. Next oldest and next in importance is Cod. Marcianus graec. 451 (called M by Martini), which dates from the twelfth century.

With regard to the relationship of the MSS, Martini comes to the conclusion (1) that these two oldest MSS, A and M, are in themselves independent and (2) that all the MSS of later date are directly, or indirectly, descended from A and M.

Part II treats of the editions and translations of the *Bibliothek*. The publication of a few excerpts was finally succeeded by the *Editio Princeps* of David Hoeschel, of Augsburg, in 1601, of which a Latin translation by A. Schott was published in 1606. The *Editio Princeps* was based on four MSS, all of the sixteenth century, which are chiefly derived from M, although partly from A. Unfortunately the editor did not perceive the great superiority of the A tradition. This edition of Hoeschel was destined to remain the standard text until the Bekker edition (Berlin, 1824), which marks a great improvement, inasmuch as Bekker made direct use of the excellent Marcianus graec. 450 (A). It is to be regretted that Bekker did not value MS M at its true worth and because of his failure to use it his edition has many imperfections. The edition of J. P. Mignes (Paris, 1860) is a union of

Bekker's text with Schott's translation. In 1836, at Milan, there was published an Italian translation in two volumes by Guiseppe Compagnoni, of certain portions of the *Bibliothèque*.

Concluding Dr. Martini's painstaking and valuable volume are 8 photographs exemplifying the MSS.

I have received from Professor A. Elter, of Bonn, the gratifying news that he has been at work for some time on a new text-edition of the *Bibliothèque*. Owing to the great length and difficulties of the task, however, some years probably must yet elapse before its appearance.

LARUE VAN HOOK

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

*Der Trug des Nektanebos; Wandlungen eines Novellenstoffs.* Von OTTO WEINREICH. Leipzig und Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1911. Pp. x+164.

*Das Märchen von Amor und Psyche bei Apuleius.* Von R. REITZENSTEIN. Antrittsrede an der Universität Freiburg, gehalten am 22. Juni, 1911. Leipzig und Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1912. Pp. 92.

These two essays are studies of Hellenistic *Novellen* and agree in finding oriental myths as the nucleus of the Greek narratives. Weinreich discriminates the Egyptian and Greek elements in the story of Nektanebos in the Alexander-romance: the basis is a *ἱερὸς λόγος*, about which gather mythological ideas and pertinent features of the Alexander-legend. Indian parallels are possibly due to the influence of the Hellenistic story, but he leaves open the possibility of spontaneous generation. He follows the same theme through other legends of those who *nomine divorum thalamos iniere pudicos*—the legend of Mundus and Paulina, of Tyrannos, of Skamandros and Kallirhoe, and the *Historia de Judaea filiam pro Messia pariente*. The free use of the motives of such stories is traced through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance into modern literature. The oriental use of the formula results usually in a fantastic romance; the occidental examples, on the contrary, are strongly realistic; the common element of both is hardly more than the formula.

Reitzenstein finds evidence, in the magical recipe known as "the sword of Dardanus," that elements of Apuleius' story, which many scholars have regarded as a blending of *Märchen* and allegory, were united in an oriental myth. These elements are Eros as boy and winged serpent, the magic palace, Psyche tortured by Eros and Aphrodite, Psyche and Eros united in love. The oriental myth, as myth, had already acquired features of the *Märchen*; in the myth, perhaps cosmogonical, Eros and Psyche were divinities; there may have been symbolism, but there was no allegory; Psyche is not the soul but an oriental deity translated as Psyche by Greek interpreters.



ReitzeLstein's essay consists of an academic discourse followed by notes elaborating important points in his address. The notes enlarge upon the relation of Apuleius to Sisenna, and of Sisenna to Aristides, reinterpret the difficult proemium of the *Metamorphoses*, incidentally attempt to clarify the meanings of *fabula* and *historia*, and offer a new interpretation of Posidippus' epigram (*A.P.* XII, 98). Throughout the discourse and the notes the discussion of the theories of Jahn and Friedländer, the treatment of myth and *Märchen*, lead to significant generalizations. Although in details the author's characteristic ingenuity is often apparent, the new application of the magical formula and the deductions seem valid.

HENRY W. PRESCOTT

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*Homer in der Neuzeit von Dante bis Goethe.* Italien, Frankreich, England, Deutschland. Von GEORG FINSLER. Pp. xiii+530. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1912. M. 12.

Professor Finsler's book is an outgrowth of the *Homer* which he wrote for the series "Aus deutschen Lesebüchern" in 1908. It is a supplement to the final chapter of that work on *Die Homerkritik*. But the supplement has expanded into an independent contribution to the important branch of comparative literature represented by such books as Zielinski's *Cicero*, Reinhardtstöttner's *Plautus*, Süß's *Aristophanes und die Nachwelt*, and Kerlin's *Theocritus*. These cross-section books, as they may be called, follow the history and influence of one of the great classic authors through the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the modern literature of France, England, Germany, and Italy. The multiplication of such monographs is a pre-condition of anything that deserves the name of comparative literature and their production is facilitated with the appearance of each additional work of the kind, as well as by the existence of such convenient compendiums as Sandys' *History of Classical Scholarship* and Saintsbury's *History of Criticism*. The book before us is an excellent specimen of its class. Professor Finsler, as readers of his *Homer* and his *Platon und die aristotelische Poetik* are aware, is measurably free from the faults which French and English tradition attributes to the typical German savant. He eschews Hegelian abstraction, mixed metaphor, and what De Quincey styles the omnibus type of sentence. He tells a readable story in logically constructed paragraphs and clean-cut sentences of moderate length, and though he has, I regret to say, a theory of the composition of the *Iliad*, he does not obtrude it upon the reader, or seek to support it by perpetual point-making.

He has worked at a distance from large libraries, and the self-imposed limitation, "from Dante to Goethe," excludes from his purview the most



interesting portion of modern English literature. But within these limits he has done his work carefully. He has read an enormous amount of Renaissance and sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century criticism of Homer, and reports upon it faithfully and intelligently. In this the main value of the book consists. It not only expounds the Homeric literary criticism of Vida, Castelvetro, Tassoni, Gravina, Vico, Cesarotti, Du Bellay, Scaliger, Heinsius, Vossius, Boileau, Le Bossu, Rapin, d'Aubignac, Terrasson, Webbe, Puttenham, Rymer, Dennis, and the rest, but it analyzes the "Epics" of Trissino, Marino, Graziani, Ronsard, Du Bartas, Chapelain, Scudéry, Desmarests, Voltaire, Chamberlayne, Cowley, Davenant, Blackmore, Glover, and Wilkie. Professor Finsler has read these immortal productions as Prantl studied the Byzantine logicians of the Middle Ages—that no man need ever peruse them again.

The Italian and the German sections are, I think, the best, though the latter is somewhat overloaded with Opitz, Haller, Breitingen, Bodmer, Sulzer, Gesner, *et tous ces garçons là*. They doubtless have their significance for the specialist in Germanic philology. But for the true cosmopolitan, modern German literature begins with Winckelmann, Lessing, Herder, and Goethe of whom Professor Finsler writes well and about whom we would gladly hear more.

The central topic of the French section is the old story of the "querelle" of the ancients and moderns, which Professor Finsler has restudied in the original documents but which henceforth we hope will be taken for granted in works of this kind with references to Finsler, Rigault, Macaulay, Saintsbury, and Jebb's Bentley. The English section, though faithfully worked out, is, as was to be expected, the least satisfactory part of the book to an English reader. The "values" are not quite right. Chamberlayne, Blackwell, and Wilkie are taken too seriously. Chapman fails to suggest Keats' sonnet, Cowper is overrated, and the pitfalls which idiom prepares for the comparative *littérateur* are amusingly exemplified by the observation (p. 299) that Dryden found the translation of the *Iliad* a fatiguing task "und er habe zwischen den hitzigen Geschichten, heats, mancher Erholungspause bedurft." Dryden's own words are: "And many pauses are required for refreshment betwixt the heats, the *Iliad* itself being a third part longer than all Virgil's works together."

PAUL SHOREY

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*Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte.* By TH. ZIELINSKI. Leipzig: Teubner, 1912. Pp. viii+371. M. 6.

The third edition of Zielinski's now classical book announces itself "als eine durchgesehene." Despite the altered format and pagination the changes are very slight. The table of contents differs only in the numeration of the sections, the index only by the omission of the false reference

Enea Silvio. A few apt Latin mottoes are prefixed to some of the earlier chapters. Here and there a sentence or short paragraph is added, e.g., on p. 280, a few lines in defense of the identification of Virgil's Drances with the conception of Cicero derived from Pollio; and on p. 229 a reference to the testimony of the *rhetoires minores* to Cicero's later influence. As the preface says, the three great gaps remain still unfilled—Cicero in the Middle Ages, Cicero in the nineteenth century, Cicero and the history of political science.

As the second edition was reviewed in this journal (IV, 335-36), it is unnecessary to characterize the work as a whole again. It is indispensable, but of course does not claim to be exhaustive. The index to Morse-Stephens' *Orators of the French Revolution*, for example, would supply further illustrations of Cicero's influence in that field. Zielinski brings out well, though briefly, Cicero's service as an interpreter and popularizer of Platonism. But he sometimes, I think, notably in the case of Shaftesbury, attributes to Cicero what is directly derived from Plato. Finally, to add my *ceterum censeo* on all books of this type (cf. *Class. Phil.* VI, 498), the Germans are doing the work admirably for themselves and for Europe. But they cannot be expected to give the true perspective for English literature. The name of Burke is absent from Zielinski's index and, I think, from the volume. The cosmopolitanism of scholarship certainly has its limits. The last edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (s.v. "Cicero") has no reference to this book and practically ignores the great field of inquiry which it opens up.

PAUL SHOREY

*Le rythme poétique dans les Métamorphoses d'Ovide.* Par RAYMOND CAHEN. Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1910. Pp. 619.

*Mensura membrorum rhythmica cum metrica comparatur. Exempla petuntur ex Ovidi Metamorphoseon libris.* Scripsit RAYMOND CAHEN. Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1910. Pp. 120.

In discussing an investigation of this sort, which totals 750 pages and deals with matters of great complexity and, to quote the author's frank admission, with *acutis numerorum metrorumque perpendorum spinis*, one must choose at the outset between a detailed review and a brief notice of the most general character. Considerations of space make the latter the only possible alternative in the present instance.

In the first of these two works the author has undertaken to investigate the phenomena of versification in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, with special reference to two questions: (1) What relationship exists between the verse pauses and the sense pauses? and (2) Have the order and relative length of the members a bearing upon the length of the pauses? These phenomena he has sought to classify, by means of a set of conventional symbols, in the "Dictionnaire des faits de versification" (Part II), which occupies pages

217-345. These "facts of versification" are classified in 1,589 categories, with book and line references for the examples in each category, and with totals for each category in the right-hand margin. In the light of statistics he has established two general conclusions. The first he calls his law of *attraction*, which stated briefly is as follows: The long pauses of verse (viz., the end of the line and the penthemimeral caesura) coincide with the longer sense pauses, while the shorter sense pauses coincide with the minor verse pauses; exceptions to this rule are explained by the operation of a force of *repulsion*, which causes the poet to resort to anomaly in order to compel the reader's attention. The second general conclusion is that the length of the pauses is proportionate to the length of the members which they separate.

The "Dictionnaire des faits de versification," in spite of the apparent complexity of the system of conventional symbols adopted—e.g.,  $O^{10} = O^{11}$  is used to symbolize *Stabat nuda Aestas | et spicea sarta gerebat*—will be found useful by students of Ovid, as well as by students of meter; but the pains which the author has taken to establish each step before proceeding to the next, due no doubt to the scholarly desire to avoid premature generalization, have rendered the work so bulky and discursive that it will be read through by few outside of the small circle of students of metrics. It is to be hoped that the author will publish an abridgment containing the "Dictionnaire"—with the helpful addition of one example from the text of Ovid to illustrate the symbols in each of his categories—and a brief and categorical statement of his more important conclusions. In such an abridgment might well be included a brief statement of the results of the second work, which is really an appendix to the first. In this he makes a detailed study of parallel membra which, on the one hand, have an equal number of verse beats (*mensura rhythmica*) but an unequal number of short syllable units (*mensura metrica*), or, on the other hand, have an unequal number of verse beats and an equal number of syllable units. In dealing with a subject so intangible and so complex, the absence of any succinct restatement of results, either in italics or in heavy-faced type, puts the reader's patience to too severe a test. This suggestion is not made in any spirit of carping criticism, but with the object of having the results of a really important piece of work made more generally usable.

F. W. SHIPLEY

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*The "Bellum Civile" of Petronius.* By FLORENCE THEODORA BALDWIN. Columbia University Studies in Classical Philology. New York: Columbia University Press, 1911.

In this, the latest addition to the "Columbia University Studies," the author has followed, in the main, the model set by an earlier volume in the same series, Ball's *Apocolocyntosis*. Her edition of the *Bellum Civile* is

equipped with a general literary introduction, text, commentary, and metrical translation.

The introduction is chiefly concerned with the much argued, and as yet unsettled question of the attitude of Petronius toward Lucan. Doctor Baldwin quotes and discusses the many undoubted imitations of the *Pharsalia* that appear in the *Bellum Civile*, and reaches what seems to be a very sane conclusion. In her judgment the *Bellum Civile* is a literary *tour de force*, serving to demonstrate the author's ability to affect a style which he was far from approving. The theory that the poem is designed as a parody of the *Pharsalia* is scouted, on the ground that the most patent absurdities of Lucan have been ameliorated by his imitator, and that where exaggeration on the part of Petronius may be claimed the intent is apparently not humorous.

The text of this edition is eclectic, and differs in some important respects from that of Buecheler. The aim has been to produce a text that would read throughout, with a sparing use of actual emendation. In some cases the better reading has been displaced, as in line 29 *mutatur*, where Buecheler's reading *imitatur* makes the best of a bad situation. The emendation of Heinsius, *censum turbat*, admitted in line 30 of the same difficult passage, is not inevitable, although the resulting sense is good enough. On p. 89 of the Introduction, where section two of the *Satirae* is quoted, *declamationes continebantur* makes no possible sense.

The commentary is extensive, containing much illustrative material from writers on related topics, and many parallel passages of near or remote application. In matters of interpretation the notes are generally sound, though the sense proposed for line 21, *surripere viros* seems far-fetched, and much more difficult than the commonly accepted meaning. The translation is a valuable addition to the commentary, since the author has achieved a smooth rendition in blank verse of good quality, and at the same time adhered closely to the original.

KEITH PRESTON

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*Notes on the Text of the Corpus Tibullianum.* By MONROE E. DEUTSCH. *University of California Publications in Classical Philology*, Vol. II, No. 9, pp. 173-226. June 1, 1912.

This paper was presented in 1910 as a dissertation to the faculty of the University of California and is now printed in revised form. The author attempts, chiefly by conjecture, to throw light on a dozen passages of the *Corpus Tibullianum* among which are included some veritable *loci vezatissimi*. The dissertation is very clearly written and Dr. Deutsch shows himself well versed in the literature of his subject and in the method which promises the best results—the patient search for readings which satisfy the requirements of sense, style, and palaeography. And yet for reasons which are beyond the author's control results do not follow. The *Corpus Tibullianum*

is a seductive field for the would-be emendator because the more mechanical part of his task is comparatively very easy. There are recent and good texts, an *Index verborum*, an excellent summary of modern work (Cartault's *À propos du Corpus Tibullianum*), and finally the *Corpus* itself is so limited in extent that it is quite manageable. But in reality this last feature of the *Corpus* together with its well known simplicity of style places almost insuperable difficulties in the way of the emendator. The total amount of text is so small that it is often impossible to cite parallels for your conjecture from the text of the poet whom you are trying to "improve," and the style is so normal that it is even harder to prove that your conjecture is peculiarly Tibullian—to say nothing of Lygdamus, Sulpicia, and the rest. Thus the best type of support is usually lacking and parallels from Propertius, Ovid, etc., do not suffice to carry conviction. If Dr. Deutsch had applied his excellent method to the text of Plautus or Cicero, for example, his chances of success would have been far greater. But in the *Corpus Tibullianum* there is not room to maneuver and the only suggestion which attains more than possibility is the addition of *est* in i. 5. 76, "in liquida . . . aqua est." A few examples will suffice to indicate the baffling nature of the task.

In i. 2. 88 the reading proposed is "non *mi uni* saeviet usque deus," but the *Corpus* contains no parallel for the form *mi* and no case of the elision of such a contraction—indeed no good parallels for either point are cited even from contemporary poetry. In i. 5. 76, "in liquida *nam* tibi linter aqua est," no parallel for *nam* in the third position is cited from the *Corpus*, and the material collected (pp. 179–80) renders this an improbable position in Augustan poetry. For the phrase *per multa* (i. 6. 7, "illa quidem *per multa* negat"), which Dr. Deutsch considers Latin, he finds no good parallel anywhere. He admits that there are "no instances in Tibullus" of the construction "permisit *vina* . . . ut" (i. 9. 25), nor does he cite any from other sources. i. 10. 37 is read "illic (*parce!*) *ustisque* genis," but there is no support in Tibullus for the parenthetical insertion of *parce*, and none from any source for the phrase *ustae genae*. A similar dearth of the best support blights all the rest of the conjectures. Approximate analogies will convince nobody unless the conjecture be brilliant indeed.

The sophistical reasoning which marks some of Dr. Deutsch's arguments may be condoned as an indication of his enthusiasm, but it injures his work. Thus in i. 2. 88 he argues that *uni* is improbable because this substantive use occurs nowhere else in Tibullus, but in the same breath he supports *mi* (which also occurs nowhere else in Tibullus) from Horace, etc. Now *uni* can be just as effectively supported as *mi*—more effectively, in fact. Logically the emendator is entitled to use this sort of argument only when his own conjecture satisfies the sense better than another reading or is superior on other grounds. In this particular case Dr. Deutsch adopts all too hastily Golbéry's interpretation and thinks that *mi uni* is superior in sense. But if the phrase *non uni saeviet usque deus* is an erotic *sententia*, as seems probable,

then *uni* fits the sense perfectly. To penetrate the sense is especially necessary if one would understand Tibullus, as Lachmann long ago pointed out. Failure to work deeply into the sense is evident in the readings proposed, i. 9. 25; ii. 2. 17-22; ii. 4. 43, etc.

If the dissertation makes no real improvements in the text of the *Corpus Tibullianum*, we must look for its contribution to Tibullian scholarship in the by-products—such collections of material, for example, as those on the ellipsis of *esse* (pp. 181-82, 224-25), on *seu* and *sive* (p. 207)—and in the full, clear discussions of the passages examined. It is a useful piece of work to put into the hands of beginners in text criticism, not because it attains proved results, but because the author sees what points require proof and how the evidence is to be sought. The critique of the views of others is generally well grounded, although inability to consult Cartault's edition (1909) and the last edition of Schulze's *Römische Elegiker* (1910) has caused the author in a few cases to misrepresent these scholars.

Textual emendation is a fascinating exercise for all who have caught more than the surface meaning of a text, but it may be seriously questioned whether in general it is a proper field for writers of dissertations. The chances of adding anything worth while to the sum of human knowledge are very slight, and even seasoned scholars are too prone to rush their *alucinationes* into print. But whatever may be thought about the general question, at least the dissertationist should be warned off from such texts as the *Corpus Tibullianum*.

Ut tibi succedat vix semel esse potest.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

ARTHUR L. WHEELER

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*Disputatio Critica de Carminibus Horatii Sex Quae Dicuntur Odae Romanae.* By A. P. H. A. SLIJPEN. Amsterdam dissertation. Leyden: Théonville, 1912. Pp. viii+182.

A contribution to the extensive literature dealing with the first six Odes of Horace's third book can hardly be expected to offer very much that is new and at the same time plausible. Slijpen's book served as a dissertation, but was primarily written in a prize contest in which these Odes were assigned as the subject with the limitation that the opinions of scholars from Mommsen to Corssen (1889-97) be critically examined and the writer's own interpretation given. This work Slijpen has done well, and thus the book is useful as a summary of what has been written on the subject during the period covered. Its diffuseness however is objectionable.

Slijpen agrees with most scholars that the six poems form a cycle. He considers the phrase *virginibus puerisque* to be the underlying idea, though he does not press this point too hard. He thus rejects Mommsen's suggestion that the praise of Augustus is the chief motive, though he is willing to accept



certain details brought out by Mommsen. Nor does he see any truth in Domaszewski's theory that Horace puts into poetic form the words that the emperor used of himself in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. Horace was not a pigeon-holing historian, as Mommsen and Domaszewski would have him be.

As has been intimated, Slijpen's greatest success is in his destructive criticism, and therein he shows considerable acuteness. In his own suggestions he is not so happy. For example, in the second poem he misinterprets the *silentium* of vs. 25 as *cultus deorum* and further makes the unconvincing argument that the second poem deals with virtue in the abstract while the other five deal with various concrete features of virtue.

It is comforting to find that Slijpen's careful study of the literature results in the rejection of many fanciful ideas that have been advanced concerning these poems.

B. L. ULLMAN

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*The Clausula in Ammianus Marcellinus.* By AUSTIN MORRIS HARMON, New Haven, Conn. Published under the auspices of Yale University, 1910. Pp. 128.

In this pamphlet, reprinted from the *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. XVI, the author has presented the results of a study of the accentual clausula of Ammianus Marcellinus, selecting for that purpose the sentence-clausulae of the first six and the last three books, and all the clausulae, internal as well as final, in Book xxi of the *Histories*. The clausulae of Book xxi are printed in full; the data for the other books are presented only in statistical form. Harmon uses Meyer's symbols for indicating the stressed and unstressed syllables in accentual prose, but combines with Meyer's notation the classification as to form and type of caesura which Zielinski applies to the metrical prose of Cicero. He finds that Ammianus uses both in final and in internal clausulae a very limited range of accentual rhythms of which the following may alone be classed as regular: I,  $\bar{x} \sim \sim \bar{x} \sim$ , II,  $\bar{x} \sim \sim \bar{x} \sim \sim$ , III,  $\bar{x} \sim \sim \sim \bar{x} \sim$ , IV,  $\bar{x} \sim \sim \sim \bar{x} \sim \sim$ . The last is relatively rare. The prevailing caesura in I and II is  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$ , in III and IV it is  $\delta$ . As regards quantity—and here the author has shown great keenness and resourcefulness in securing and weighing the evidence—he finds that in accented syllables Ammianus was entirely indifferent to quantitative distinctions, and that in unaccented syllables he observes quantity only in so far as it is due to position.

Many of the inferences which he draws from the evidence of the clausula as to accent, syllabification, pronunciation, etc., are interesting and cannot be overlooked by students in the field of late Latin. One may mention the accentuation of Greek proper names and other loan words, the dialysis in the case of inter-vocalic *i*, e.g., Trajanus, Aquileia, and in particular the



syllabification of *u* after *s* and *q*. Here the results are remarkable. There is nothing unusual about *súesco*, *súadeo*, or even about *aquíae*; but *quám*, *quod*, *quae*, *quē*, and particularly *quies*, *quiete*, *quibus*, *quidem* where the *u* is not only vocalized but accented, certainly cause some surprise. Harmon here casts aside the obvious explanation that this pronunciation was a peculiarity due to the fact that Ammianus was of Greek origin, and is inclined to regard it as a feature of late Latin. It is true that there is evidence in the grammarians for *aquám*, *úeni*, as popular mispronunciations, and in the hymns and Romance languages for *súavis*, etc. But, until parallel evidence is found in the usage of other late Latin writers of non-Greek origin, it will not be safe to accept the more extreme cases, such as *quidem*, *quod*, *quē*, *quiesco*, as anything more than the idiosyncrasies of a foreigner's pronunciation. In any event it has raised an interesting question.

This little monograph is a model of lucid exposition and a distinct contribution to the literature of a subject which has received little attention in America.

F. W. SHIPLEY

*Griechisch-literarische Papyri I. Ptolemäische Homerfragmente.* Mit Unterstützung des Grossherzoglich-Badischen Ministeriums der Justiz, des Kultus und Unterrichts. Herausgegeben und erklärt von G. A. GERHARD. Mit 6 Tafeln in Lichtdruck. (Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung IV. 1.) Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1911. Pp. x+120.

The two Heidelberg texts edited in this volume are *Iliad* papyri of Ptolemaic times, and make a considerable addition to the hitherto very limited materials of that sort. To the first Ptolemaic Homer papyri, the Petrie (1891) and Geneva (1894) pieces, Grenfell and Hunt added something in *Greek Papyri* II (1897), but it was their *Hibeh Papyri* I (1906) that more than doubled the manuscript material and put the whole problem on a new footing. With the Ptolemaic Homers found at Hibeh the Heidelberg papyri are closely related. It will be remembered that at Hibeh in 1902 Grenfell and Hunt found parts of Ptolemaic Homer papyri, other parts of which they had previously purchased in Cairo in 1896 and published in *Greek Papyri* II (1897). Still further parts of these identical papyri found their way in 1897 to Heidelberg and are now published by Gerhard with introductions, notes, and indices. The explanation of this double coincidence is in the fact that in 1896 Hibeh had been partially dug by Sheikh Hassan, an Arab dealer in antiquities, and from his excavations came papyri parts of which Grenfell and Hunt bought in Cairo in 1896 and published in 1897 (*Greek Papyri* [P. Grenf.] II), while other parts of the same rolls were purchased in 1896 by Dr. C. Reinhardt, the German vice-consul in Cairo, and in 1897 passed into the hands of the Grand Duchy of Baden. How Grenfell and

Hunt found their way to Hibeh in 1902, and found other parts of these identical papyri which Sheikh Hassan's men had left behind, has already been told in *Hibeh Papyri* I, and in *Classical Philology* III, 353-54.

A hint of the presence at Heidelberg of additional parts of P. Grenf. II, 4 (*Iliad* xxi-xxiii) had reached the Oxford editors through M. Seymour de Ricci, who in 1899 had identified "a few additional fragments" of that papyrus (*Hibeh Papyri* I, 5). It will be seen that what Dr. Gerhard has to publish is additional parts of two papyri of which Grenfell and Hunt have already published two instalments. Heidelberg 1 continues P. Grenf. II, 2, and Hibeh 21; Heidelberg 2 continues P. Grenf. II, 4, and Hibeh 22; these papyri date from the early Ptolemaic period, 290-240 B.C. Heidelberg 1 takes up the text in the very verse in which Hibeh 21, frag. k, leaves off (*Il.* viii. 190), and while it adds but sixteen lines, shows no less than 4 additional (i.e., non-Vulgate) verses among them, while the column-length shows that three more non-Vulgate lines must have followed the Heidelberg fragment, making a group of five non-Vulgate lines together between viii. 202 and 203. This group Gerhard skilfully reconstructs.

The second of the Heidelberg Homers is more important. With its text Gerhard has combined the texts of the Grenfell and Hunt fragments, interweaving the eleven identified fragments in a way that shows the source of each and its variations from the Vulgate. Gerhard is able to establish that the column-length was 31 lines. Here the additional lines are less frequent than in Papyrus 1, but a new element in the problem appears in the absence from the Ptolemaic text of a number of Vulgate lines.

In practically doubling the published remains of these two papyri, Gerhard has greatly broadened the basis for a sound judgment as to their text. The lines that they add or omit as compared with the Vulgate he finds generally of minor importance; but their variant readings can no longer be brushed aside as mere wild aberrations. In one notable instance the Ptolemaic Heidelberg text suggests agreement with Aeschines' non-Vulgate way of quoting *Iliad* xxiii. 83 f. (*Against Timarchus*, § 49). Another reading, *οκα δε Ιπυς* (for Vulgate *οκα δ' Ιπυς*), xxiii, 198 commends itself to Gerhard as the pearl of Ptolemaic variants. As to the worth of the Ptolemaic text of Homer and its relation to the Vulgate, Gerhard concurs in the discriminating verdict of Grenfell and Hunt (*Hibeh Papyri* I, 70-75), to whom he dedicates his volume. The excellent facsimiles show the fragmentary condition of the papyri, natural enough in view of their preservation in mummy cartonnage. Gerhard points out in conclusion that Hunt's *Rylands Papyri* (I, 1911) have just added an eighth to our Ptolemaic Homer papyri, and the number is sure to increase. Meantime Gerhard's Heidelberg volume makes an important contribution to the materials for the recovery and the criticism of the pre-Alexandrian text.

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'Ανασκαφαὶ καὶ Ἑρεῦναι ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1910. By A. Σ. ΑΡΒΑΝΙΤΟΠΟΥΛΛΟΣ. Athens: Π. Α. Σακελλάριος, 1911.

On pp. 168-264 of the *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας* for 1910, of which the monograph before us is a reprint, Arvanitopoulos gives us a preliminary account of his excavations and investigations in Thessaly for the year 1910. He is no novice in this field. Beginning with 1906 he has been doing splendid service for the Greek Archaeological Society as director of its fruitful work in Thessaly. Much has been accomplished in the field of topography; and the light shed upon the history of Greek art by his discovery of that interesting series of painted gravestones and of the rich works of the engraver's art from Thessalian tombs would, if that were the whole, be ample reward for the labors expended in that part of Greece.

The explorations covered in this report include many important sites—notably Iolcus, Larissa, Pharsalus, Magnesia (the probable site), Pherae, Pagasae, Gonni, the Vale of Tempe, etc. The finds include vaulted tombs, graves, architectural remains, temples, theaters, stoas, aqueducts, sculptures, paintings, ceramics, coins, inscriptions (some of them apparently important for the better understanding of the Thessalian dialect), jewelry, remains of splendid cities of classical times not even identified as yet. In point of time they cover the prehistoric, Mycenaean, classical Greek, Roman, and Byzantine periods. Of peculiar interest are the prehistoric, circular tomb-inclosures, suggesting Dörpfeld's royal tombs of Leucas-Ithaca, and the elliptical temple of Athena Polias (?) on the acropolis of Gonni.

Under the long-continued Turkish domination the treasures of Greek art were subjected to the destructive lust of the Turk for half a century longer in Thessaly than in the rest of Greece. But since the province was freed from the Turkish yoke (1881), many remnants of art and archaeology have been collecting. For a long time there was no place provided for their preservation, and vandalism and war (1897-98) did much for their further mutilation and destruction, till Mr. Arvanitopoulos began his work in the north. Sculptures, vases, architectural pieces, bronzes, etc., have at last found shelter, and the museums of Volo and Larissa are now becoming important and interesting centers of archaeological study.

Not the least interesting feature of this report is the survey of the archaeological field of Thessaly and the prospect it gives of things to be done in the campaigns of 1911-12.

WALTER MILLER

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*Antike Fluchttafeln.* Von RICHARD WÜNSCH. 2te Aufl. Bonn: Marcus und Weber, 1912. Pp. 31. M. 0.70.

*Aus einem griechischen Zauberpapyrus.* Von RICHARD WÜNSCH. Bonn: Marcus und Weber, 1911. Pp. 31. M. 0.70.

These little texts form Nos. 20 and 84 respectively of the useful series of *Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen*, and the name of their editor is a

sufficient guaranty of competence in the treatment of the perplexing subjects with which they deal.

From the large number of ancient *defixiones*, of which about five hundred are at present known, the editor, in the first of these works, has selected seven, five in Greek and two in Latin, which show definite influences from either Judaism or Christianity. These influences are seen in occasional modifications of the regular formulae used in the curses and in the employment of Jewish and Christian sacred names, often misspelled and misunderstood, to lend impressiveness and mystery to the imprecations. The *defixiones* in this collection are directed against various kinds of offenders, of whom drivers in the circus are the most prominent. Most of them have been already published by Wunsch in his "*Defixionum Tabellae Atticae*" (*I.G.* III, 3) and all but one by Audollent in his *Defixionum Tabellae*, but this collection will make more readily available specimens of several notable types, and the compact and instructive commentary should prove stimulative alike to students of the classical literatures and to those of the religion and folk-lore of the Hellenistic world.

Much light is cast upon these inscriptions by certain magical papyri, and in the second text Wunsch gives a selection, based upon the edition of Wessely, of over two hundred and sixty consecutive lines from a Paris papyrus (Suppl. gr. 574), which is the best representative of the works of this class. The selection consists of prescriptions for a love-incantation: the magic sacrifice to be made (*ἐπιθύμα*), the formula of address to the gods invoked (*λόγος*), and the prophylactic to insure the conjurer against harm (*φυλακτῆριον*). These form a brief and orderly series of directions to which are appended certain alternative formulae, both in prose and in verse and in part borrowed from the Orphic hymns, which destroy the unity of the original and appear to be placed here as the result of recensions of it. Into the notes upon this edition also the learning of Wunsch has compressed much of interest from the field of ancient magic, and these two little books will furnish a good introduction to the study of an important undercurrent in Greek life and belief.

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*Charakteristik der lateinischen Sprache.* Von DR. F. OSKAR WEISE.  
4te Aufl. Leipzig und Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1909. M. 3.60,  
bound.

The modest subtitle "Ein Versuch," which appeared on the title-page of the first edition (1891) of this little book, indicates the diffidence of an author who has ventured upon a comparatively new and unworked field and who is now submitting the firstfruits of his studies to the learned world. The great popularity which the book enjoyed immediately on its publication is evidenced by favorable reviews, rapid sale, a French translation

(published in 1896 by F. Antoine) and by the disappearance of the words "Ein Versuch" from the enlarged, second edition (1899). In 1905 appeared contemporaneously a still more enlarged third edition and a modern Greek translation by M. Graziatos. The present, fourth "improved" edition was quickly followed by an English translation by H. A. Strong and A. Y. Campbell; and, if I mistake not, a Russian translation has recently appeared.

In its various forms Professor Weise's book has been a source of inspiration to a whole generation of teachers and students, and has probably done as much as, if not more than, any other German publication to stimulate a fresh and keener interest in the study of Latin. It is only to be regretted that the new revision is not much more thoroughgoing. The most recent literature might have been more largely utilized. Walde's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, for example, seems not to have been drawn upon very largely, if at all. In the reviewer's opinion it would be a great boon to the classics, if side by side with Dr. Weise's book there existed a radical revision of it made by some scholar who has kept fully abreast of recent progress in the general science of language and literary criticism, and who at the same time is a master of the happy and attractive method of exposition that marks Dr. Weise's book.

C. L. MEADER

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*Ad Propertii Carmina Commentarius Criticus.* . . . P. J. ENK.

Zutphaniae: apud W. J. Thieme et Cie, 1911. Pp. xii+364.

The author of this Leyden dissertation has undertaken the laborious task of re-examining the literature on Propertius with a view to establishing the text at every point where there may be said to be a question of reading. The result is a big book containing some new suggestions—Dr. Enk proposes some thirty odd conjectures of his own—and much sensible criticism of old ones. It contains also a number of notes which are little or nothing but a register of the author's preference for this or that reading. Dr. Enk's attitude toward the text of Propertius is sane and open minded. He generally has good reason to suspect the tradition before looking about for an emendation, and his judgment in selecting from the proposals of his predecessors is independent and well balanced. It must have been a source of pleasure to Dr. Enk to find how often his choice coincides with that of Professor Hosius in the new Teubner edition, which appeared about the same time as the *Commentarius*, though the former adheres of course, *ex hypothesi*, much closer to the MSS.

Of Dr. Enk's own conjectures I like best the suggestion to transpose ii. 6. 23 f. after 25 f. At ii. 16 a new and quite possible order is suggested. *Cautus* (for *captus*) at ii. 23. 10 is plausible, though I do not feel certain that the MSS are wrong. Again at iv. 6. 80 *reddita signa Remi* is a good emendation, if the text be really in need of any. One of the best things Dr. Enk has

given us is his argument for the unity of ii. 33, and his excellent interpretation of the poem. The division at vs. 21, advocated by Ites, and Rothstein's theory that the girl of the latter part of the elegy is another than Cynthia, are convincingly refuted.

At ii. 5. 28 the author rightly retains the reading of the MSS, viz., *Cynthia forma potens, Cynthia verba levis*, but apparently does not appreciate the motive of the scholars who proposed *verna levis* (Peiper), and *lingua levis* (Richards), which was to provide a nominative in the second half to parallel *forma* in the first. Dr. Enk may perhaps be interested in a discussion of this verse in *T. A. P. A. XL*, 57 f.

In iii. 20 Scaliger's transposition of 11 f. after 13 is rightly accepted. This gives us

nox mihi prima venit. primae date tempora noctis:  
longius in primo, Luna, morare toro.  
tu quoque, qui aestivos spatiosius exigit ignes,  
Phoebe, moraturae contrahe lucis iter.

Hertzberg inquires: "quis immanem illum ἀναχρονισμόν aequo animo tulerit, ut poeta primum interdiu Lunam advocet, deinde ad Phoebum conversus, ut illi loco cedat precetur, iam vero iterum de nocturnis gaudiis loquatur?" Our author cites Otto as disposing of Hertzberg thus: "Herzberg hätte recht, wenn die Bitte an Phoebus sich auf denselben Tag und nicht vielmehr auf den folgenden Morgen bezöge." But critic and defender are alike shooting wide of the mark. Propertius prays Luna for a long night, and Phoebus for an early one. Did Herzberg and Otto never see the moon before sunset? Had the poet desired the sun-god to begin his journey late on the following morning he would not have used such an expression as *moraturae contrahe lucis iter*. The word *moraturae* is highly appropriate to the lingering light of a summer evening, but not at all to the encroachment upon the night of an early dawn.

In a few places Dr. Enk rejects the tradition where it appears to me to be unquestionable. Thus at i. 17. 11 (*an poteris siccis mea fata reponere ocellis?*) *reponere fata* means "put away," "forget my death," but Dr. Enk adopts *apponere* (Itali). At i. 19. 19 (*quae tu viva mea possis sentire favilla*) Dr. Enk adopts Postgate's *quas viva mea te possit sentire favilla*, but it would be hard to understand *quas*, after *lacrimis meis* in vs. 18, as meaning Cynthia's tears. Does not the poet mean "which sentiments (*quae*) may you be able to feel when I am ashes and you are living on"? It is affection rather than grief which he hopes may be mutual, and *cara* is emphatic in vs. 18. At ii. 15. 49 (*tu modo, dum lucet, fructum ne desere vitae*) Dr. Enk rejects *lucet* for Müller's *licet*, o, but *lucet* is sufficiently defended by vss. 23 f. (*dum nos fata sinunt oculos satiemus amore: nox tibi longa venit, nec reditura dies*). At ii. 25. 35 (*at si saecula forent antiquis grata puellis*) *saecula* is correctly understood by Palmer as "fashions." At ii. 28. 62 (*noctes et mihi redde decem*).



Baehrens' *Isidi*, adopted by Dr. Enk, is quite futile. At iii. 4. 18 (*et subter captos arma sedere duces*) Dr. Enk proposes to transpose to read *et captos subter arma*—because *subter captos arma* is an unusual order! At iv. 5. 44 (*cum ferit astutos comica moecha Getas*) Guyet's *comis amica* is absolutely uncalled for. At iv. 7. 69 (*sic mortis lacrimis vitae sanamus amores*) Dr. Enk borrows Markland's *amara* and Luetjohann's *multis*, and reads *sic multis lacrimis vitae sanamus amara*, thus spoiling one of the finest lines in Propertius. The text is above suspicion. *Mors* is used, not of the moment or process of dissolution, but of the existence after death. It is a poetical and felicitous employment of the word, only a little more audacious than that at Lucretius iii. 874 f., *quamvis neget ipse credere se quemquam sibi sensum in morte futurum*, where Professor Merrill cites Plautus *Capt.* 741, *post mortem in morte nihil est quod metuum mali*. It is true that *amores* is not just the word we should have expected of the adventures of Andromeda and Hypermestra, though in each case love played a part in the story, but Cynthia is thinking of herself, and *amores* is with her almost *labores*. At iv. 11. 39 the text is of course in need of emendation, but it will never do to read, with Dr. Enk, *et qui te, Perseu, simulantem pectus Achillis*, since *proavi*, which Dr. Enk omits after *Perseu*, in order to make room for his *et*, is as certainly genuine as anything in the four books. The echo in vs. 40 is a favorite device with Propertius, and the repetition is particularly effective here where it emphasizes the speaker's scorn. At iv. 8. 48 (*Lanuvii ad portas, ei mihi, solus eram*) Dr. Enk adopts Cuper's *totus*, though *solus* not only has the witness of the MSS to its genuineness, but gives a more satisfactory meaning than *totus*. See *A. J. P.* XXVI, 472.

The *Commentarius* is handsomely printed, with exceptionally clear type and liberal spacing. Unfortunately the proofs, as happens for some reason with many doctoral dissertations, were carelessly read, and the author has had to add a list of nearly four score *errata*. Even so the tale is not told, and the reviewer has noted some fifty more. For the most part these misprints are not such as to occasion the reader any real annoyance, but users of the book (and it deserves to be used) may be glad of the following corrections of certain more serious slips.

Praef., p. x: "Fundamentum autem mihi fuit editio Phillimoriana, quae sola apparatus criticum affert; Baehrensii enim editio ab iis codicibus proficitur quas hodie nemo iam primum locum obtinere credit." But Baehrens used precisely the MSS which Dr. Enk bases his work upon (save that L has been discovered since), and it was Baehrens who first established the worth of four of the five, viz., A F D V.

At i. i. 24 Hertzberg's *Cytaeines* is ascribed to Rothstein (Dr. Enk rightly accepts Hertzberg's other suggestion, *Cytinaeis*).

i. 16. 48: *differor*, is ascribed to V (it should be v; a similar mistake at iii. 11. 27, and see Praef., p. xi, where we are told, by an obvious misprint, that N F L D V [sic] will be used to denote the *second* hand in these codices).

- ii. 34. 31: Santen proposed *tu satius musam leviozem imitere Philetæ*; Postgate reads *t. s. musis l. i. Philetam*. Dr. Enk misquotes both scholars.
- ii. 34. 61-82: Dr. Enk seems not to be aware that Marx had proposed this order.
- iii. 3. 33: Scaliger should be credited with the reading adopted.
- iii. 7. 22: Dr. Enk ascribes to Thompson *quæ notat Argynnus præda morantis aquæ*, whereas he really proposed *qua natat*.
- iii. 13. 6: Mueller and others are misquoted. They actually read *et venite rubro*.
- iii. 13. 24: the MSS have *fida* (not *fide*).
- iii. 15. 3: Guyet (not Hertzberg) should be credited with *elatus*.
- iii. 17. 27: Baehrens should be credited with the reading adopted.
- iii. 18. 1: Baehrens' *tundit* is ascribed to Hartman.
- iii. 19. 10: *rabidae* (not *rabida*) Itali.
- iii. 21. 25 (last line, p. 276): the compend Müller refers to was *ux* (not *ut*).
- iii. 22. 25: *socia* is given by Hosius to Puccius (not Francius).
- iii. 24. 4: N (not Otto) is Phillimore's warrant for the question mark.
- iv. 1. 88: Hosius gives Schipper's *pericla* to the Italians.
- iv. 7. 4: for *quo via* we should perhaps have *ad quam viam*, or the like.
- iv. 7. 37: *et* belongs to Luetjohann (not Postgate).
- I am glad to find that Dr. Enk likes my interpretation of iii. 24. 9 ff. (*A.J.P.* XXX, 54 ff.).

B. O. FOSTER

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*Latin and Greek in American Education with Symposia on the Value of Humanistic Studies.* FRANCIS W. KELSEY, Editor. New York: Macmillan, 1911. Pp. x+396. \$1.50.

The biggish volume entitled *Latin and Greek in American Education* brings together a number of really significant papers, that are, or ought to be, already well known to teachers of the classics in this country. In their new form they constitute a valuable and accessible armory, from which even the most timid champion of the good cause may draw effective weapons either for attack or defense. The contributors represent the most diverse walks of life from don to diplomat, from business man to theologian; and they are all agreed that the classics offer a most valuable preliminary training alike for practical affairs or a professional career. Indeed, the note of praise is so uniform that human perversity is likely to react; but even that danger is guarded against by the insertion of a number of anti-classical letters received by Mr. Harvey W. Wiley in reply to a questionnaire. There is practically nothing for a classically minded reviewer to say except by way of congratulating the editor both on his undertaking and its execution. The

book is welcome and important. It is safe to say that every individual with a living interest in our national education ought to read it with care; but it is equally certain that it will be least used where it is most needed.

F. B. N. HELLEMS

*Sex. Propertii elegiarum libri IV*, recensuit CAROLUS HOSIUS.  
Leipzig: Teubner, 1911. Pp. xiv+190. M. 2.

This edition at once takes its place as the standard text edition of Propertius. In the Teubner series it is the successor of Müller's edition which antedates it by 41 years. The work is a conservative one, and no startling novelties are to be found therein. It is a careful digest of the work of scholars in the last generation.

The preface opens with the statement that one who writes concerning the Propertian MSS these days must repeat much that is trite; that Baehrens in his edition of 1880 laid a firm foundation not yet overturned; that he clearly distinguished the classes, chose good representatives of each, and carefully collated the variant readings; but that he erred grievously in judging his MSS and in restoring his text. These words show clearly the trend of Hosius' edition. The opinion expressed may be said to be the current one, though the reviewer, for one, does not agree with this high estimate of Baehrens' work. In the *Corrigenda* the editor states that he received the reviewer's article on the MSS of Propertius (*Classical Philology* VI [1911], 282) too late for use. It is possible that he would have modified his views concerning the MSS had he received it earlier. No new MSS are made use of and little is added to our knowledge of the familiar ones, only F having been re-examined by Hosius. As a result of this new study of F, Baehrens' miserable collation (for which he practically apologized) is corrected in a number of places, though by no means in all. Hosius, like Baehrens, fails to distinguish between the correcting hands—a matter of detail which is by no means unimportant (see *Classical Philology*, loc. cit.). A few gleanings from photographs of N of which Hosius availed himself are added. N is rightly rated highest, but the erroneous statement commonly made is repeated that it alone is free from the interpolations of the humanists. It is even suggested that A is a copy of Petrarch's MS (cf. *Classical Philology*, loc. cit.). In 1891 Hosius suggested Neap. IV F 20 as an additional representative of the AF family where A fails us, but he temporarily abandons this as a result of Postgate's well-grounded objections and his own re-examination, until a careful study (apparently undertaken by a student of his)<sup>1</sup> will establish the truth. The Holkham MS (Postgate's L) is adopted into the apparatus as a good representative of the AF class. Baehrens' DV are accepted

<sup>1</sup> Since this review was written there has appeared (1912) a Greifswald dissertation by A. Hänel, a student of Hosius, entitled *De Propertii Codice Neapolitano 268 (=IV F 20)*. Hänel maintains that this MS is of some value.

as a class. The Lusaticus is very properly rejected as of no value. Thus NAFLDV are the MSS adopted into the apparatus. Other MSS are occasionally referred to under the all-embracing sign s.

The obscurity and inconcinnity of Propertius has been responsible for an extraordinarily large number of conjectural emendations. Hosius has gathered some very interesting statistics. In 18 printed editions and about 250 articles known to him, he has found for the 4,010 verses more than 7,300 conjectures, about 1,000 transpositions (not counting the numerous ones of Scaliger), about 85 lacunae, and about 450 suspected verses (not counting those of Carutti and Heimreich). In one poem of 102 lines (iv. 11) he counts no less than 360 conjectures (not including transpositions), and for one line (iv. 4. 55) he lists 32 conjectures by 30 scholars. He rightly concludes that extreme caution is necessary, and that here, if anywhere, the critic must stand by the MSS. Some excellent remarks on the style of Propertius are concluded with the warning that he who expects a writer to be clear, balanced, and consistent should keep away from Propertius.

In the apparatus, which is at the foot of the page, all the variations of N (except differences of spelling) are given. But of the other MSS only those readings which are of importance for the text (in the editor's judgment), and many which indicate the relations of the MSS are included. In other words, the apparatus is generally sufficient for all readers except those who are studying the MS problem.

As in Baehrens' edition, the *testimonia* are given below the text. No real additions are made to those already known—only reminiscences from inscriptions that are either inept, such as *fidus amicus* (what could one not prove by the English "faithful friend"! ) and *verba loqui*, or else are found also in other authors.

Extreme conservatism is shown in the text. From a rapid glance through the apparatus it appears that not a single emendation of Hosius' own is introduced into the text. Nor do there seem to be more than about 15 of his modestly made suggestions even in the apparatus. None of these are convincing. No conjectures of scholars since Baehrens seem to be accepted into the text—unless there be a few which have escaped the reviewer. Recent scholars who are mentioned most often in the apparatus are Housman, Postgate, Birt, and Leo.

Hosius follows Baehrens in putting too much trust in DV. It seems to be certain that DV are of no value (except as offering plausible conjectures) where NA, or (after ii. 1. 63 where A ends) NF agree (see *Classical Philology*, loc. cit.). We should therefore accept the reading of these MSS wherever possible, e.g. iii. 11. 24, where NF have *Nec* and DV (followed by Hosius) have *Ne*.

In addition to the *Initia Carminum* and the *Index Nominum*, there is a most convenient *Index Metricus et Prosodiacus* with sub-headings *Caesurae*, *Pedes Quinti et Sexti*, *Elisiones*, etc., and an *Index Grammaticus*, which far

surpasses Müller's because of the excellent arrangement by declensions, etc. Misprints have not been searched for by the reviewer, but incidentally the odd-looking *Gwynu*, for *Gwynn*, in the apparatus to ii. 22. 44, was noted.

We are grateful to Hosius for the pains he has taken in the production of this conservative book. It marks an advance in that it offers a judicious presentation of current theory. There is no breaking away at any point, and therein lies his weakness as well as his strength.

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*Cacus der Rinderdieb.* Von FRIEDRICH MÜNZER. Program zur Rektoratsfeier der Universität Basel. Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt, Universitätsbuchdruckerei, 1911. Pp. 136.

The appearance of another dissertation upon the Hercules and Cacus myth within a year of the publication of Winter's *The Myth of Hercules at Rome* in the University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, IV, 171-273 (reviewed in *Classical Philology*, VII, No. 1, 98-99, by Walter Miller) is evidence of the continued interest of students of religion in this vexed question. While the great value of Winter's thesis lies perhaps in his second chapter on the "Relationship and Sources of the Versions," the most interesting part of Münzer's study is his analysis of the myth in the Augustan poets and historians. The work is perhaps more significant as a study of the literary and mythological technique of the Augustan age than as a direct contribution to the analysis of the Cacus myth itself. A brief summary of the four chapters will show wherein Münzer's treatment of the material differs in emphasis and conclusions from Winter's.

In his introduction (pp. 1-7) Münzer informs us that he will discuss Cacus rather than Hercules, assuming the Greek origin of the hero, that he will confine himself to the literary tradition of the Augustan age, and the researches of pre-Augustan and post-Augustan antiquarians and commentators. In chap. i, pp. 8-26, we have "Technik und Disposition der Erzählung bei Vergil, Properz, Ovid."

Münzer's method is here one of great minuteness, not to say excessive diffuseness. The main result of the analysis is to show that Vergil gave himself free scope for poetic invention by deviating from the tradition and by romantically elaborating the figure of Cacus and the fight with Hercules, that Propertius iv. 9 eliminates Evander from the story, and that Ovid *Fasti* i. 543 ff., while closer to Vergil, has a more consistent regard for the unities of time and place. The results of the second chapter, "Analyse der Erzählung bei Vergil, Properz, Ovid" (pp. 27-70) are more important, for here by a careful comparison of the three poets Münzer deduces the common "mythic formula." This formula should, however, have been definitely stated. Equally significant are the differences. In general Vergil's narrative

is one descriptively elaborated according to Greek epic traditions and romantically heightened in keeping with his own temperament. His Cacus is an epic *monstrum*, half animal, half god, the son of Vulcan, dwelling in a wild cave, horrid with the signs of slaughter. The pursuit of Hercules is almost the tracking of a wild beast. In the description of Cacus and his cave there are traces of the influence of *Odyssey* ix. 106 ff., Polyphemus and his cave; in the story of the theft of the oxen, of the Homeric hymn to Hermes (75-78, 211, 220, 344), and in the fight, of the conflict in the *Iliad* (xx. 50-75 and 161-75). Münzer's strictures (p. 57) on Winter's use of the Typhoeus story from Hesiod's *Theogony* 1. 820 ff. are justified. In Propertius we have a three-headed monster from the Geryones cycle, apparently killed by the club of Hercules. Where Vergil heightened his background to make an appropriate epic setting for his conflict Ovid softens his to a silvan landscape; his Cacus is a gigantic herdsman.

In chap. iii (pp. 71-91), "Livius und Dionysios," Livy's Cacus is a human herdsman dwelling among his fellows, killed by the club of Hercules. Münzer argues that there is no euhemerization here, on the ground of the romantic individualism of Vergil's treatment illustrated in the preceding chapter: that therefore we infer the priority of the Livian over the Vergilian Cacus. Against this we might argue: (1) the strong euhemeristic tendency in Livy, Book i; (2) the probable existence of a divine pair Cacus and Caca. (3) For the priority of Vergilian conception of Cacus as a fire spirit, the strongest testimony is, to the mind of the reviewer, to be found in the assertion in Servius on *Aeneid* viii. 190 ff. that Caca, his feminine counterpart, was worshiped in her sanctuary by the Vestal Virgins with an ever-burning fire. Cacus and Caca must stand together as Wissowa has seen. In any case Münzer is hardly justified, as on page 102, in view of the large part which euhemerism plays in the historical and antiquarian sources, in denying any relationship between the notice on the *sacellum Cacae* and Cacus himself. Still less, cf. p. 100, n. 102, in regarding her as a euhemerization of the bellowing cow parallel to the *lupa* in Livy's *rationalistic variant* for the Romulus and Remus story. In Dionysius i. 38. 4 we have two accounts. The first or *μυθικὸς λόγος* agrees essentially with Livy's sober account and lacks the romantic coloring of Vergil; the second or *ἀληθέστερος λόγος* is purely rationalistic and therefore of secondary interest.

Chap. iv (pp. 92-117), "Die antike Forschung und ihr Material" is one of much interest, and on the whole is convincing. Münzer discusses the treatment of the myth in (1) Servius on *Aeneid* viii. 203, partly dependent on Verrius Flaccus; (2) the *Origo Gentis Romanae*, partly dependent on Cassius Hemina and Veranius, (3) Solinus partly dependent on Cn. Gellius, and (4) Diodorus iv. 21, partly dependent on Timaeus. The ground covered corresponds in general to that in Winter's chap. iii, "The Original Form of the Myth." In contrast with the conservatism of Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*, p. 230, who holds that the main elements in the story are aetiological



and that we have no right to place their origin much anterior to Vergil himself, Münzer endeavors to give the kernel of the legend a place in the earlier Roman annalists. It is not possible here to go into the details of the argument, but to the present reviewer it seems probable that the substance of the myth antedated Vergil by a considerable period (1) on the evidence of Winter's study of the sources; (2) because the euhemeristic element which bulks so large in the citations from Cassius Hemina, Cn. Gellius, and Timaeus, probably presupposes an *earlier unrationalized version* of the myth developed under Greek influence attached to the divine pair Cacus and Caca, and accounting aetiologically, as Wissowa has seen, for the proximity of the cults of *Hercules Invictus* at the *Ara Maxima*, the cult of *Juppiter Inventor*, and the *scalae Cacaë*. Pp. 118-21 consider the representations of Cacus on coins. Pp. 121-31, by Paul Wolters, form an appendix on the representations in other works of art. None of the latter can be referred to Cacus with certainty.

Finally, Gruppe's review of Winter, *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 1911, pp. 998-1004, should be cited here. The present reviewer lacks the assurance to describe as "a ring of proof" the cloudy mass of conjecture in which Gruppe envelops the notice of the origin of the aborigines in Festus ep. 266 a, 27 M, and then refers it to a legend of the Apollo temple at Cumae. Equally dubious seems to be the effort to trace the struggle of Hercules for his cattle to a legend of Croton transferred thence to Cumae by the founder of a sanitarium at the sulphur springs at Baiae and still later transported to Rome where Latinus replaced Lakinos and was later himself replaced by Cacus! Nor is the attempt to connect this ingeniously woven mythical complex with the notice of Cn. Gellius, who calls Cacus a Campanian king, any more convincing. At most we should be justified in using the evidence of this passage only as a possible indication for the Cumaeian origin of the Hercules legend at Rome. Classical mythology must submit to the same sober laws of scientific procedure as the other branches of classical philology,

ne  
dum vitat humum, nubes et inania captet

GEORGE CONVERSE FISKE

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

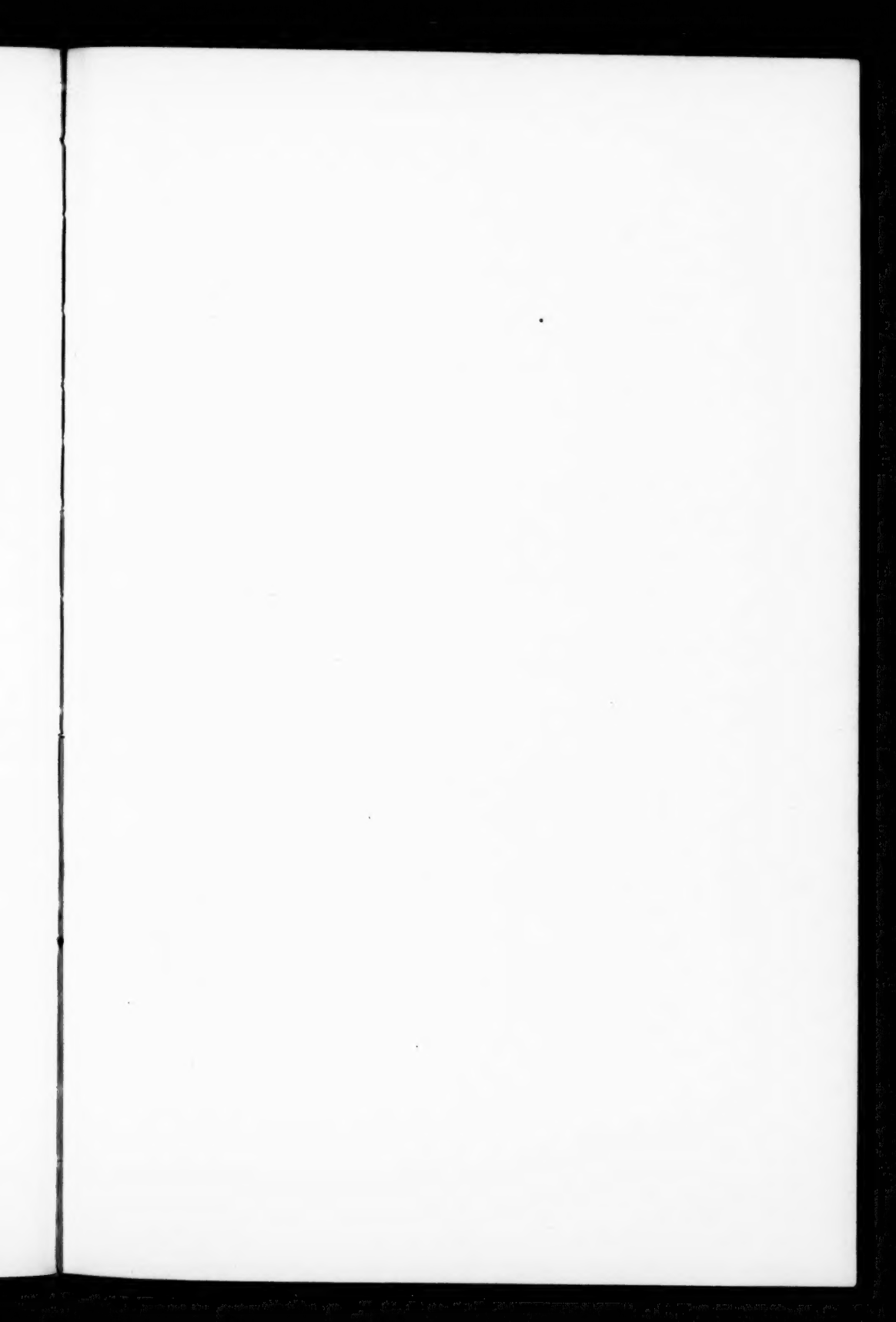
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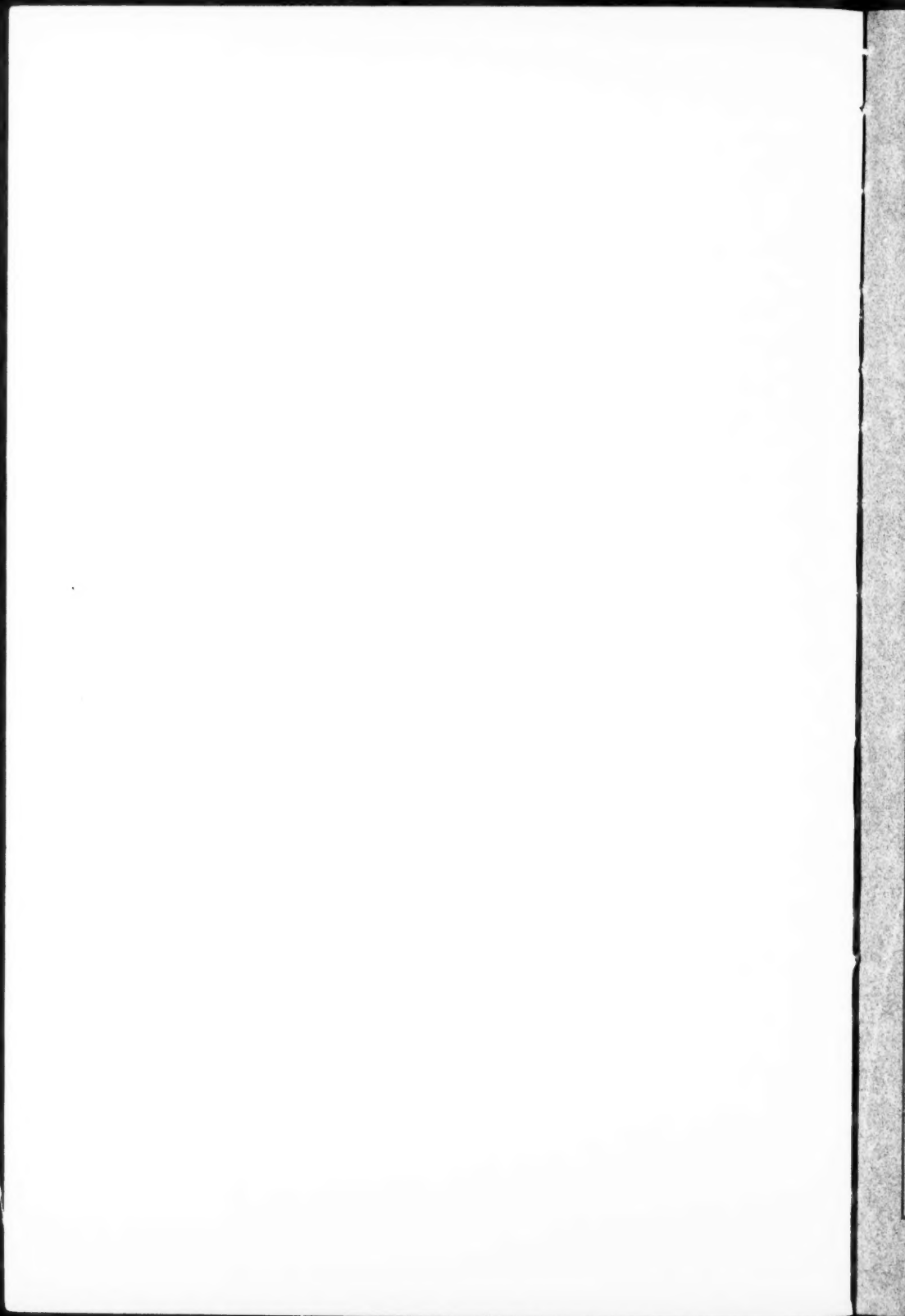
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